

THE SUNDAY TIMES



TAKING THE LID OFF HEALTH FOODS
Special inquiry by Nicholas Tomalin 17

NEWS DIGEST

4 JULY 1971

Refugees 'still attacks'

Refugees are still being committed by the Indian Army and refugees are still being killed. The three MPs who were yesterday from a tour said that the "heavy devastation," particularly of the villages. It was said Mr Arthur Hayes, a former Labour Colonial Secretary, of the most harrowing experiences.

Refugees appear to have been killed by the Pakistan Army in the past. In a hospital in Agartala, capital of the state of Tripura, the MPs said that a quarter of the 600 refugee patients, many women and children, had been wounded, some by gunfire, and some by disease.

Mr Hayes (Cons.) said: "I see no excuse for the Pakistani Army who up to the present have carried on being extremely violent." He said that there had been atrocities on both sides—evidence of Bihari people with guns—but said Mr Hayes, "one should expect higher standards from the Pakistani Army."

President Yahya Khan can be fully trusted, Mr Hayes said. He said that the Pakistani Army could not say who had given orders to kill and burn, but Mr Hayes said that the Pakistani Army was a "very bad" man. He understands nothing about economic and social matters. He said that the Pakistani Army was a "very bad" man. He understands nothing about economic and social matters.

Crash probed

RAIL will tomorrow begin its investigation into the excursion train crash near which killed two children and injured others. Experts yesterday examined the scene, paying particular attention to the possibility of heat or metal.

Point to discover will be the cause of the words "Very bad rail found on sleepers underneath the train yards from the death spot." It is the term for the track shifting and alignment to one side or the other. Rail say the line is maintained to standards with at least three inches a week—Arnold Field.

Malta Governor

ANTHONY MAMO, a Maltese, is the former-General of Malta, following the death of Sir Maurice Dorman, has been announced yesterday. A General is appointed on the advice of the Malta Government. Sir Anthony, in 1960, has been Malta's Chief of Police and President of the Court of Appeal. He is believed in Malta that the new Governor, Mr Dom Mintoff, may ask for a £500,000 salary. He is believed to be between £10m and £15m when he starts with Britain on revising financial arrangements.

British soldiers die

British soldiers died and two were in a head-on car crash yesterday. The crash involved a 47 Dragon, a British-made car, and a Trooper in a British-made car. The crash occurred in Beverley, East Riding. Trooper Kennedy, of Leeds, and Trooper Phillips, whose address of record is in Beverley, were killed. The crash occurred in Beverley, East Riding. Trooper Kennedy, of Leeds, and Trooper Phillips, whose address of record is in Beverley, were killed.

He talks pause

As about talks in Rhodesia are this weekend. Lord Goodman, the British team yesterday flew to South Africa while Mr Ian Smith is off to the country.

ness, Guinness

AN Norman Micherson rested at wall, yesterday after getting into Guinness Book of Records by 2 pints of Guinness in an hour. He is currently says the "most extreme drinking feat" is 54 pints in 55 minutes. "This must be regarded as a record," Mr Micherson's bill, paid for workmates, was £9.92.

fall to death

TEN were killed and two badly injured in a nuclear power station at Sellafield, Cumbria, yesterday. The men were being lifted over a hole in a steel basket when the basket suspended them from a crane. They plunged 50ft into the hole.

may end tour

VCES are increasing that the will call off their Australian tour. Pressmen travelling with the players steadfastly refuse to comply on anti-apartheid protests but are reported to feel that the Adelaide clashes were worse than anything in Britain.

ette 'will stay'

COY, the man who handled Devlin's political affairs while in prison, yesterday hotly denied that the Independent Socialist Ulster might be asked to resigning that she is pregnant.

cover into marriage

ES the 18-year-old Bangor seamstress overboard for Cindy Cassary her next year, Cindy said David met Cindy, 20, when she was a Navy assault ship Intrepid Australia. He leapt into the sea because Cindy cried at the harbour.—AP.

in leaves hospital

of the three ratings trapped in submarine Artemis left hospital Hampshire, yesterday. The three ratings and members of the crew Squad hope to refloat the submarine tonight or early tomorrow.

in ends sit-in

THINGS, 56-year-old steelworker came down from the roof of the 100-hour strike after a 100-hour sit-in. He said that he was leading a three-month strike when the men returned to work.



Can we try it a little slower this time and, please Mr Solti, a little more vibrato from the lips: George Solti, who retired last night after 10 years as musical director of Covent Garden, has his normal conducting role reversed under instruction from his 14-month-old daughter Gabrielle at their London home.

Wilson off fence, will lead Labour against Market

By James Margach, Political Correspondent

MR HAROLD WILSON made it abundantly clear yesterday that he is going to lead Labour against the Common Market. In doing so, he stressed his overriding concern for the unity of the party, and he followed up with a scarcely veiled challenge to any pro-Market leader who thought he could do better, to have a try at replacing him—or toe the line.

In a speech scattered with carefully phrased hints and references to pressures being put upon him, Mr Wilson told a Labour rally at Newtown, Montgomery, that the Parliamentary Labour Party—which must take the vital decision on the Commons Market vote—was only a part of the Labour movement. He had a wider duty to the whole party—Labour's National Executive Committee and the Labour movement in the country, as well as the Parliamentary party.

These remarks were being taken this weekend as an attempt by Mr Wilson to downgrade the strength of pro-Market opinion among his colleagues on the Opposition Front Bench. It has been generally accepted in the Shadow Cabinet, less strong, but still considerable, in the Parliamentary party, while in Labour and trade union branches in the country, opinion is strongly against British membership of Europe.

Mr Wilson's emphasis on his duty to preserve unity in the whole party thus becomes an argument for reaching a decision that will satisfy the majority outside Parliament.

From unity, Mr Wilson moved on

to pressures on him. These, he said, had not been wanting, even though the necessary conditions for taking a stand on the Market—the actual terms negotiated by the Government—were not yet available. He did not identify the source of these pressures, but his next words, significantly, referred to his own position as leader of the Parliamentary party.

In an unusually cryptic passage, he said: "The Parliamentary Labour party, of course, elects its leader at the beginning of each new session: 280 Labour Members are free to allow their names to go forward for nomination. No one has the right to election. Equally, I must now make clear, no one has the duty to accept nomination against his will."

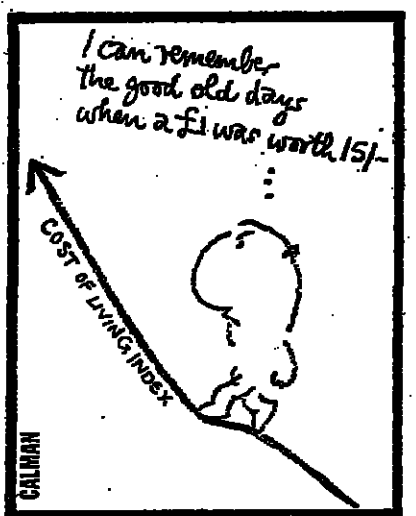
This could, of course, be read

as an ultimatum that he would be ready to quit as leader in the autumn if he did not get unity. In official Labour circles this interpretation is dismissed as wide of the mark. The Opposition leader has heard of dedicated Marketeers, who are anti-Wilsonian by long tradition, threatening in the lobbies to draft a rival for the leadership "if Harold leads the party against the Market."

The signal from yesterday's speech is unmistakable. Mr Wilson is now so sure of himself and his leadership that he will not make a deal or do any horse-trading with any group. Though Mr Wilson carefully left open the question of the party's final attitude on joining Europe—one of the most important issues we have ever had to face as a nation, he said—the tone of yesterday's speech was against entry. He repeated the conditions on New Zealand, Commonwealth sugar, and the balance of payments, but then said new issues, affecting fishing and the steel industry, had arisen, which had not been foreseen when negotiations began.

Mr Wilson also rehearsed his defence to charges that he has somersaulted over the Market, by trying to get into Europe in 1967 and now opposing entry. He said it was only when General de Gaulle finally vetoed negotiations that he used the phrase, now flung at Mr Wilson by his critics, "We shall not take No for an answer." This, he said, did not mean "that we should in all circumstances say Yes to the terms, whatever they were."

The speech, page 2.



Top surgeon invites row with 'lunchtime abortions'

INSIGHT

AT A MAJOR London teaching hospital, one of the country's most respected gynaecologists is performing what are certain to become known as "lunchtime abortions." Women are coming into his hospital in the morning, are given abortions as out-patients, and leave the same afternoon.

The gynaecologist is doing this in defiance of his hospital governors, but with the tacit approval of the Ministry of Health. His action follows a refusal by his professional body, the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, and by his hospital governors, to countenance experiments he wanted to make into safe "lunchtime abortion" techniques. In desperation, he has gone ahead without official approval.

The hospital is St Mary's, Paddington. The gynaecologist is Peter Huntingford, professor of obstetrics and gynaecology there. Since February, he has done 60-70 "lunchtime abortions." Now, of the 15-20 abortions that he does at the hospital each week, he is treating six to eight of the women as out-patients.

The standard National Health Service practice is to keep a woman in bed for up to four days after an abortion. Even for private clinics, the Ministry insists upon an overnight stay as a minimum. But Huntingford, supported by a quantity of international evidence and by a growing number of gynaecologists in this country, holds that this is unnecessary.

He argues that, provided the pregnancy is terminated early enough and that the most modern techniques are used, treating the woman as an out-patient and sending her home after only a few hours is in fact much safer than many of the present NHS abortions. Hence the phrase "lunchtime abortions," an import from America where the method is already used extensively.

Huntingford is the second gynaecologist in a major London hospital to adopt the technique. The other experiment is taking place at King's College Hospital, in South London, where 150 or so women have been aborted as out-patients.

But Huntingford's case is remarkable. First, because a gynaecologist of his standing—he is a consultant to the World Health Organisation—has felt it necessary to act without approval. Second, because the background to his decision lies in a conflict between the president of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists and the Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health on the whole question of the future working of the Abortion Act.

The conflict has so far remained secret. But there is, in fact, such a head of steam behind it that one point now seems fairly certain. The Lane Committee, set up in February by the Social Services Secretary, Sir Keith Joseph, to inquire into the working of the Abortion

Act, is fast becoming irrelevant. Because the committee may take two years to report, but a decision by the Minister on the critical question—whether to sanction out-patient, "lunchtime abortions"—cannot, in the light of Huntingford's action, be delayed any longer.

THE DISPUTE between Sir Arthur Jeffcoate, President of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, and Sir George Godber, Chief Medical Officer to Sir Keith Joseph's Ministry, centres on this very point.

In January, Godber circulated among the country's 600 or so consultant gynaecologists a survey into the workings of the Abortion Act, compiled from reports by each hospital region. He listed the problems—mainly, the resistance among hospital staff, the postponement of other gynaecological operations, and the marked disparity between hospital regions in the liberality with which they interpreted the Act. To remedy some of these, Godber reached four conclusions. The most important was that a great deal could be done if only gynaecologists were willing to examine other methods of working—in particular, the possibility of out-patient abortions.

On February 2, Sir Arthur Jeffcoate—professor of gynaecology in Liverpool, a city with a notably low abortion rate—shot back a fierce reply. It covered four pages, but these are the key passages:

Alphon 'near murder scene on the night'

By Lewis Chester

VITAL NEW EVIDENCE concerning the A6 murder case came into the possession of The Sunday Times last week. Nine years ago James Hanratty was hanged for the murder of Michael Gregsten in a lay-by off the A6. Since then, another man, Peter Louis Alphon, has confessed to the murder.

The importance of the new evidence is that it suggests that Alphon was near the scene of the crime on the night of the murder—August 22, 1961—and was, in fact, drinking in the same public house as Michael Gregsten and his girlfriend Valerie Storie.

The murderer came upon Gregsten and Miss Storie shortly after they left the public house and drove to a cornfield at Dorney Wood, near Slough. He surprised them in the parked car and, after a nightmare five-hour drive, killed Gregsten and shot Miss Storie after raping her. Miss Storie was crippled but survived.

One of the most baffling aspects of the trial of James Hanratty, who protested his innocence to the end, was the absence of any convincing evidence to show that he had ever been in the Slough area.

The new evidence was given to us by Mrs Mary Lanz, wife of the proprietor at the Old Station Inn, at Taplow, near Slough. She rang Mrs Hanratty, the mother of the convicted man, last week, saying that she felt she had to make her information public. As a result, the A6 Committee, which is campaigning for the case to be reopened, put her in touch with The Sunday Times.

This is the essence of Mrs Lanz's statement:

1. On the night of Tuesday the 22nd of August, 1961, I was serving as usual in the bar at the Old Station Inn, Taplow, Bucks.

2. On that night, Michael Gregsten and Valerie Storie came into the saloon bar, and sat in their usual seat under the arch. They used to come in three or four times a week. They were well known to me and my family.

3. Also in the pub that night was a man who I now know to be Peter Louis Alphon.

4. This man had been in the pub on several previous occasions.



Peter Alphon

Usually he was alone, but on this occasion he was accompanied by a blonde woman who was, I would say, in her early thirties.

5. I recall Michael Gregsten and Valerie leaving after nine o'clock. The man who I now know to be Alphon left with the blonde lady about half an hour later by the back exit.

6. At the time I did not attach any significance to the presence of this man. The public house was packed that night with people coming and going all the time.

7. When police officers from Slough came the next day to make inquiries about the murder of Michael Gregsten, I did not mention this matter because it did not seem in any way important.

8. However, the man who I now know to be Alphon did come into the pub subsequently. I distinctly recall one evening shortly after the murder he came in and asked whether he could book in for the night. As I did not take guests, a member of my family telephoned the Woodburn Hotel, Slough, and booked him in for the night. The man gave us the name Louis Hencky.

9. Some time after this, during the trial of James Hanratty, a Mr Jean Justice [Mr Justice, a founder member of the A6 Committee, wrote the first book to argue Hanratty's innocence] brought this man who I then knew as Louis Hencky into the pub. Mr Justice asked me if I recognised him. I said "yes." Mr Justice then told me that the man was in fact Peter Alphon, who had been a suspect for the A6 murder.

10. I was naturally very worried about this and after Hanratty's appeal failed became concerned that an innocent man might hang for the murder. Although I had seen a number of local police officers, neither I nor any member of my family was interviewed by Det. Supt. Acott, the man in charge of the murder inquiry. And although we were the last people, apart from the murderer and Miss Storie, to see Michael alive, none of us ever gave formal statements to the police or were called at the trial.



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Second in the series of history as news

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Knightsbridge London SW1

'£46m. more State aid for old houses'

FINANCIAL TIMES, 23 JUNE 1971

TO HOUSING COMMITTEES AND COUNCILLORS

To help you,
High Speed Gas backs this
official crash programme
with this range of services

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT SAYS:

Legislation is being introduced to provide increased grants for the improvement of older homes in the development and intermediate areas for work completed within the next two years. Grants for the improvement of Local Authority housing in these areas are being doubled from 37½% to 75%. These increases will be effective from 23rd June 1971.

WHAT THE GAS COUNCIL SAYS:

The gas industry will help you to do more for older homes — whether in development areas or not. We have put together a simple programme called 'A New Lease-of-Life', which will save you a considerable amount of time, money and trouble. Your local Gas Board has senior executives ready to explain it to you on demand.

Jobs your Gas Board will do under the 'New Lease-of-Life' Programme

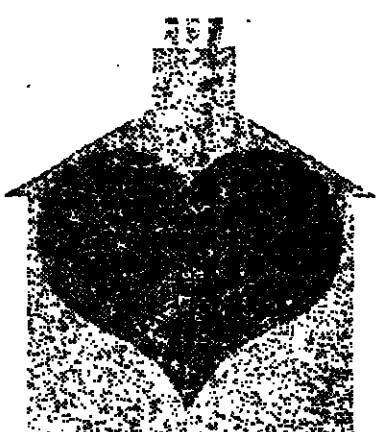
- 1 Design Service Gas Boards offer a free design service to ensure that there are available heating schemes to meet your specific needs, both in terms of house types and price. Special 'packs' have been introduced by Boards which combine the benefits of standardized equipment and simplified installation, thus ensuring lower costs.
- 2 Technical Consultancy Service A free consultancy service is available to Local Authorities giving you guidance on gas equipment and systems and ensuring that you make the most efficient and economic use of gas central heating.
- 3 On-Site Service Gas Boards will supervise the installation of heating schemes, to ensure that the standards laid down and agreed upon in the design and technical consultancy stages are put into practice.
- 4 Promotional Service Gas Boards will liaise with Local Authorities and assist in explaining the Authority's recommendations on heating to its tenants, whether the systems are to be purchased by the Authority itself or by individual tenants. They

will participate in sponsoring and staffing exhibitions and other promotional activities, providing literature and display material, using their own mobile showrooms where appropriate and undertaking 'mail drops' in specified areas.

5 Financial Service Gas Boards will arrange appropriate sources of finance for either the Local Authority or for individual tenants, and will assist in making arrangements with finance houses, should the necessity arise. Leasing schemes between Gas Boards and Local Authorities may provide an attractive alternative method of finance in cases where loan sanction is unobtainable. Some Authorities may prefer this arrangement to outright purchase of systems.

hand. If necessary, Boards will also offer guidance on the selection of contractors.

7 After-Sales Service Local Authorities can arrange with Boards for a regular maintenance service, and in the case of individual tenants, Boards will undertake servicing either on a contractual or on-demand basis. Gas Board Home Service Advisers are also available to guide tenants on the economic use of their appliances and systems.



High Speed Gas
central heating that obeys you

Wilson: I'll do it my way

MR HAROLD WILSON yesterday outlined his position on the Common Market at an all-Wales rally of the Labour Party at Newtown, Montgomery. He said:

The Labour Party holds that it is right that the people of this country, and Parliament itself, should have a reasonable period of time to weigh the issues involved.

I believe however that within a very few weeks, indeed this month, the Labour Party must come to a collective decision, and this decision must be clear and unequivocal for or against entry on the terms available. The decision to be taken by the National Executive can then be discussed throughout the country, and accepted or rejected by the annual conference.

I shall of course play my part in what must be a collective decision and it will be my duty to recommend to the National Executive Committee, to the Labour movement in the country and in due course to the Parliamentary Labour Party the course I believe to be in the best interest of the country and of our people.

That is a clear duty. A duty to the nation to establish where Labour stands.

As leader of this party, however, there is another duty, which I have always conceived as that of the leader, whoever he may be, of this great movement. That is, to ensure the continuing basic unity of this party, while recognising the competing, and deeply held, sincere views of Members of Parliament and others in our ranks on this issue. And when I refer to my duty to the party, this must mean to the whole party, not only to the Parliamentary Labour Party, which forms an integral and most important part, but still only a part of the Labour movement.

I have been in receipt of courteous intimations from sections of the Press about what they have in store for me if the decisions taken in this party and by myself are displeasing to their proprietorial or editorial policies. I find these threats unimpressive. They will in no way influence the decision I have to take either way. On the other hand, I have listened, and will continue to listen, to advice. Advice from those who realise the importance of the decision to be taken. Constructive, helpful and informative advice: advice from every section and every strand of opinion in this party. The special conference in July has been called in this spirit.

The Parliamentary Labour Party, of course, elects its leader at the beginning of each new session. Two hundred and eighty Labour Members are free to allow their names to go forward for nomination. No one has the right to election. Equally, I must now make clear,

no one has the duty to accept nomination against his will.

I regard it as vital to stress that while these coming weeks must be occupied in the fullest possible debate on the market issue, we shall not be diverted a day longer than is necessary from the basic job before us as a party: to expose and attack the deceptions of the Tory leadership, their backward-looking and divisive policies; to protect our people—particularly on prices and unemployment and social welfare—while at the same time preparing constructive policies to put before the British people before and after the next General Election.

Next week, then, the White Paper on the European Community will be published. I have expressed the hope in Parliament that it will be clear, detailed and honest. Conservative Ministers have so far been evasive and opaque. We in the Labour Party still await the answers to the basic questions raised when the negotiations began.

These are the questions the Labour Government said must be settled in the negotiations, so that, on the terms then offered us, the country and Parliament could decide.

The first question is what the cost to Britain's balance of payments will be.

Secondly, an issue I have stressed since the Common Market was in its earliest infancy, the terms that are laid down regarding not only the short-term, but the continuing, position of imports of New Zealand food into Britain.

Thirdly, Commonwealth sugar. The issue which again we served would be one of those of paramount importance when the negotiations began, four years ago tomorrow.

There are growing signs that the worst of Britain's economic troubles are over, and that better news is on the way. The Prime Minister claimed at a constituency meeting in Bexley yesterday: "My colleagues and I know very well that many people in this country are going through a difficult time."

There will no doubt still be setbacks and disappointments, and there are still massive problems to be solved. But we can see now clearly the signs which point to prosperity. As a Government, we are determined that this time it will be a real and lasting prosperity.

Heath dealt first with rising prices. Inflation over the past year had been "the pay-off for Labour policies—devaluation, higher and higher taxation, stagnant living standards, an on-off incomes policy which strained the wage explosion, and the Labour Government's surrender on industrial relations."

"Once prices start to rise they gain an increasing momentum which carries them on upwards for a time even after the underlying causes are responding to treatment. That is what is happening today."

"Of course, we have not been able to control the prices of imported goods, particularly of food. Food prices have gone up sharply all over the world in particular those of butter, beef, coffee and tea."

But the Government is steadily bringing the underlying situation back under control. The wage

Fourthly, there is the question of capital movements. I feel it is right at this point of time, before the White Paper is published, to repeat what has been the policy, not only of the Labour Government, but of the Labour Party throughout these past few years. We applied for entry. We said we meant business. For more than three years negotiations were prevented by the interposition of General de Gaulle's veto. It was when he vetoed any talks about British entry that I said: "We shall not take no for an answer."

Which is already being quoted out of context and which will increasingly be so.

Our rejection of the General's "No" related to the question of negotiations, and before we left office that veto had been withdrawn and negotiations were in prospect. It did not mean, nor was it at the time interpreted as meaning, that refusing "to take no for an answer" on negotiations meant that we should, in all circumstances say "yes" to the terms, whatever they were.

When the House was asked to approve our application, which it did by a large majority, we made clear what the issues were on which we should require satisfaction. Party conference also endorsed our application by a large majority. The application was not in question in 1969, when party conference again debated the Market.

In February 1970 the Government published a White Paper in response to a widespread demand that we should set out our best estimate of what the consequences of entry would be for Britain. Introducing that White Paper to Parliament, and speaking of course for the Labour Cabinet, I said:

"If, when the decision is to

be taken, the disadvantages Britain appear excessive, relation to the benefits would flow from British entry to Parliament, I should enter the Commons, after negotiations, acceptable in relation to its fits, the Government recommend entry."

No words used by any of the time of the application, subsequently, meant—or at the very nature of things meant—anything more than we would decide on entry when we could judge the terms meant for us as then.

It must now be by the that we laid down in Gove that we must judge the next week's White Paper decide on any other basis be to destroy the consistency has been our throughout.

I repeat, that no press threats of criticism however, however distasteful to us from making a decision in the way we feel, and, for my part, in the feel I have the duty to do best interests of the country of the party I have the to lead.

This I shall do in my o based on what I have believed to be the duty great movement has the demand of its leader.

This done, I intend party shall continue in riding task it has to ex disastrous and tragic quences of this Gov which in so short a p office has succeeded, destroying so much that h so many years to build building and dividing a strong and great nation.

Heath: good news ahead

THERE ARE GROWING signs that the worst of Britain's economic troubles are over, and that better news is on the way. The Prime Minister claimed at a constituency meeting in Bexley yesterday: "My colleagues and I know very well that many people in this country are going through a difficult time."

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higher and higher taxation, stagnant living standards, an on-off incomes policy which strained the wage explosion, and the Labour Government's surrender on industrial relations."

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But the Government is steadily bringing the underlying situation back under control. The wage

explosion has lost its pace. It is being contained. First signs are appearing of a diminishing.

"Perhaps we would be more popular if we had in just like our predecessors then we would have been demning the housewife higher prices" than sh otherwise pay."

The Government said in SET. "This means cut nearly £300 million this amount which the Gov takes from the services it —shops, hotels, garages rest."

"Don't let anyone say that this is a small sum. I anyone argue that there no benefit here for the wife."

Abortion

continued from page 1

"There is now a widespread impression amongst gynaecologists that the Department of Health and Social Security supports and encourages the view that the terms of the present Act allow abortion to be induced legally in the case of every woman, or most women, who request it. This is not a view we accept... and any attempt to promulgate it will meet with resistance from most gynaecologists."

"Your report suggests that to the Department of Health, the improving the working of the Act means encouraging and providing for an ever-increasing number of terminations of pregnancy. Many gynaecologists, on the other hand, would argue that in the interests of the patients and the community, the law could best be improved by reducing the number of cases of termination of pregnancy and by regularising the interpretation of the Act according to its clauses."

Jeffcoate's opinion of women seeking abortion was firmly stated: "It is unnecessary for women who at present form the largest group... Most of these women are merely seeking what seems to them to be an easy way to escape the social consequences of pregnancy and are doing so without serious thought or knowledge of the possible sequelae."

And he flatly rejected any thought of out-patient abortions. The council of the Royal College, its governing body, must consider this reply by Jeffcoate until its February 6 meeting, four days after the letter had gone. Even then, the council took no decision on it. Indeed, at its next meeting, a minute recording the council's decision was unanimously supported to the views expressed by the President "was challenged by two council members and withdrawn. Nevertheless, the majority of the Royal College almost certainly backs Jeffcoate's view."

WHAT GODBER did not stress in his circular—and Jeffcoate's reply did not dwell upon it either—is the simple medical failure of the Act as it is now being operated. Over the past 18 months, the Department of Health, working with the Registrar-General, has compiled statistics showing that Britain's abortion safety record—judged by the deaths and illnesses from abortion operations—is currently running about 10 times worse than equivalent rates in eastern Europe. Moreover, it is possible to deduce from the figures that the National Health Service has in fact a worse safety record than the private abortion clinics.

The figures were compiled for use at a private World Health Organisation meeting in Helsinki in April—from which some of them leaked. Yet the Department of Health refuses to publish them, on the ground that they may be inaccurate. This is true: private clinics may look good only because their follow-up of abortion patients is less efficient than that of the NHS, for example.

But there is good reason to think that, if anything, the figures underestimate the problems. According to experts in the field, Britain's gynaecologists are performing abortions inexpertly, far too late, and by old-fashioned and relatively dangerous methods. All of these factors are explained by the relative newness of abortion in this country and the lack of facilities. But they increase the risk of the operation. More than a tenth of the women aborted before 15 weeks have a hysterectomy, for instance—a major abdominal operation which is quite unnecessary at so early a stage of pregnancy. The usual reason seems to be that the gynaecologists know no other method.

Whatever other concessions he has to make to the Royal College, Godber is, not unnaturally, determined to improve this safety record. And his experts in the Ministry are fairly sure that they know the answer: out-patient abortions, carried out before 12 weeks pregnancy, using a method known as vacuum aspiration. (Basically, this involves inserting a thin tube into the womb and sucking out the contents. The woman can have a general anaesthetic, a local anaesthetic of the cervix, or no anaesthetic at all.)

The main international experience of this method comes from Yugoslavia and America and according to those who have studied the records tend to show that, properly used, the method is the safest known. And by a considerable margin.

Although Godber did not spell it out, it was this vacuum aspiration method that he had in mind when he said in his circular for gynaecologists to consider new methods. The corollary of this "lunch-time abortion" technique, of course, is that it could permit the setting up of special abortion clinics to handle the whole NHS burden—another point Godber was getting at.

IT IS THIS impasse between the Ministry and the profession which Peter Huntingford at St Mary's has decided to challenge. When last year he first asked to start experimenting with out-patient, vacuum aspiration techniques, St Mary's hospital governors turned him down. So, around last Christmas, he asked Godber whether the Department of Health would allow him to use the method in a private clinic.

Godber replied that the Department would agree, provided Huntingford's two outside advisers on abortion—both consultants at London teaching hospitals—and the Royal College. One consultant would not agree; the other was so keen that he wanted to join Huntingford at the clinic. And Jeffcoate was so opposed to the idea that it was never even submitted to the Royal College's council for discussion.

So, in the New Year, Huntingford decided to go ahead. His very limited experience so far chimes with the results from the parallel experiment at King's College Hospital in South London—which is being done with the co-operation of the hospital governors. The "lunch-time abortion" seems to be feasible. As international experience suggests.

It is impossible for Sir Keith Joseph to ignore this problem. For one thing, other experts who support Huntingford's stand are planning a sustained campaign against the conservatism of British gynaecologists' abortion techniques. Ten more trenchantly,

October will see the publication of a major study into British abortion which adds up to a frontal assault upon the concept, enshrined in the Abortion Act, of leaving the decision to abort up to the individual gynaecologist.

The results will come from the most intensive long-term abortion research ever carried out in this country. For the last five years, a team at the University of Aberdeen which includes gynaecologists, psychiatrists, sociologists and mental health specialists has been studying the way that doctors in the city have over the last decade reached decisions on abortions, and the effect their decisions subsequently have had on the women. (Scottish Common Law has, for years, permitted abortion on grounds very similar to those now in the 1967 Act, and Aberdeen's doctors have long been regarded as among the most liberal in their attitude towards abortion. So there were plenty of cases to study.)

THE TEAM'S interim findings were published in the *Journal of Bio-Social Science* earlier this year. The workers discovered that, while there were significant variations in the number of cases that individual consultants passed for abortion, the vast majority of all the gynaecologists virtually ignored the "social" factors central to many applications. Only 13 per cent took the husband's feelings into account; only 11 per cent considered parental feelings where pregnant single girls were concerned.

There was also a major dency not to consult the own doctor. Requests for information came in per cent of the sample though many consultants that GPs' notes on the were rarely of much help.

The result, inevitably, more ambiguous for patients' mental conditions' and families' financial background and GP's personal assessment little or no influence on decision. The Aberdeen found that consultants, likely to emphasise, and base decisions on, st ward medical factors. T report argues, is wrong: (non-medical factors) available, the hospital could be basing his as upon little else if patient's competence as case or an actress."

The conclusion, it team does not state, expl which several of its mo members have reached, by Peter Huntingford, gynaecologist, he says, fitted by training, by ment and by the very stances in which he women to bear the con sion-making role that, now places upon him, any doctor must be free to carry out an abor, I do not think that we tinue with the simu which the doctor whether or not an should be carried out

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Breathless clue to Soyuz space deaths

By Brian Silcock

THE CREW of Soyuz 11 complained to ground-control that they were having breathing difficulties soon after their spacecraft separated from the Salyut space station and began to return to earth, according to knowledgeable sources in Moscow. They were told not to worry as it was quite normal at that stage.

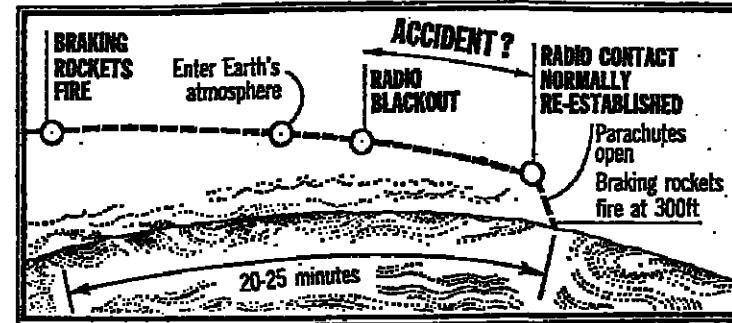
But apparently the problem persisted right up to the time when radio contact with the crew was lost during re-entry. There has still been no official statement about what was said last Wednesday in the last radio exchanges between Soyuz 11 and the ground.

This information—obtained by Sunday Times Moscow correspondent Edmund Stevens—together with other unofficial reports from Moscow, confirms what many Western space-medical experts have been saying all along: that an oxygen failure in the spacecraft, or a leak in the cabin, was a far more likely explanation of the three cosmonauts' death than the effects of 23 days' weightlessness.

This view is supported by the American astronauts' chief physician, Dr Charles Berry. Speaking from the Houston space centre yesterday, he said: "There is no evidence whatsoever from our experience of the Russians' in space, or from ground-based experiments, to suggest that weightlessness could be responsible. There is nothing in what has happened to Soyuz 11 to make us change our plans for 28 and 56-day flights in our Skylab programme."

The reports from Moscow suggest that a slow leak developed in Soyuz 11 immediately after it separated from the space station and that the leak became catastrophic during re-entry.

One account refers to a hole that suddenly got larger; another to a leaky hatch. The latter sounds more probable. An impact sufficient to pierce a hole in the spacecraft would surely have led to a great deal of anxiety—and no such anxiety is



evident in the reports of the exchanges between the spacecraft and the ground before the braking rockets were fired.

A slightly defective hatch, on the other hand, seems quite plausible. There were troubles with in-space docking on earlier Soyuz flights. If the hatch was insecure, the mechanical stresses caused by re-entry could well have turned a minor leak into a disastrous one. The hatch does not appear to have been torn off completely for the official communiqué about the accident speaks of the recovery group opening it.

The normal appearance of the dead cosmonauts' faces at the lying-in-state is perfectly compatible with either a gradual oxygen failure or with a sudden explosive decompression of the spacecraft.

In the former case, they might not even have been aware of what was happening. Without realising it, they would have begun to behave more and more as though they were drunk and lost consciousness gradually without distress.

If the decompression was explosive they would hardly have had time to realise what had happened in the six to ten seconds before they lost consciousness. There would be virtually no outward signs of how they had died.

Some reports from Moscow mention embolism—the formation of air bubbles in the blood as a result of a rapid fall in external pressure. This suggests a sudden catastrophe.

Although the Russians have from time to time expressed anxiety about the effect of pro-

Call for 'be good' pledge by students

By Alex Finer

STUDENTS will have to sign "good behaviour" pledges when they obtain their grants if a powerful group of local authorities has its way. The Association of Education Committees wants students to lose their grants if they break the pledge and take part in "disruptive activities."

Although individual councillors have called for a tough line like this before, it is the first time that it has been backed by an official body. Sir William Alexander, secretary of the AEC and the leading local authority spokesman on education, believes his proposals would help college chiefs to maintain discipline.

Sir William has already contacted other local authority associations to win support for joint meetings with the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and the Government's Department of Education and Science. In his letter to the County Councils Association, Sir William spelled out the details of his proposals:

Students would be "required to sign an agreement not to engage in activities which disrupt the work of any university... and that on notification (of students in breach of this agreement) the awarding local authority should have the right to terminate the grant or award."

If Sir William's idea is accepted, it implies that local authorities, which run the grant system, would not make awards to students refusing to sign the agreement.

The local authority leaders regard their idea as a way of telling university vice-chancellors that they are solidly behind any crackdown on troublemakers. But if a university still decided to avoid disciplinary measures, Sir William concedes that it would be difficult for local authorities to act by themselves. And the AEC, which represents education committees in England and Wales, may here run into trouble from other local authority bodies.

For although the County Councils' Association is prepared to join in discussions, it doubts whether the proposals will be adopted.

500 accuse police over drug checks

By Denis Herbst

MORE than 500 young people have signed statements that they were unreasonably searched by police in random drug checks at last weekend's Reading pop festival.

Only a few of the 500 were charged with any offence. The allegations were collected by ADE, a civil rights group which took an interest in the festival.

The allegations include: policemen being present while girls were searched; some people being searched two or three times; and searches being conducted solely because of people's appearance.

Mrs Patricia Bayley, a 19-year-old of Avenue Road, Isleworth, Middlesex, who is pregnant, says she had to strip.

"When my husband Barry and I arrived at Reading railway station last Sunday morning I was stopped by this pretty girl in jeans," she said yesterday. "I thought she wanted to know the way, but she flashed a police card and said it was a spot check for drugs and would I go with her?"

We went to an upstairs room in the station, where there was a uniformed policeman. She asked me if I was carrying anything and I said 'No.' Then she emptied my handbag on the table, locked the door and to my amazement, started to search me.

"I had to take off my jacket, lift my blouse, and she looked in my bra. She frisked me up and down and remarked that I had a 'funny shape.' She patted me on my tummy and said: 'All right Fred.' I felt very embarrassed. The search took about 10 minutes."

Mrs Bayley added: "In my position it is a bit difficult to take the police on. But I would like to see justice done for all those innocent people who were searched and whose weekend was ruined by the police."

Miss Dianne Mills, aged 21, of Wandsworth, South London, was driving through Reading on the first day of the festival with six friends. "The police searched me and found Mandrax sleeping pills."

My boyfriend had Phencycline. We both had prescriptions, but we were taken away for a checking."

Miss Mills and her boyfriend

were then photographed and fingerprinted, but were not charged. "There was a big room with about 50 people waiting to be checked," she said yesterday. After seven hours, they must have checked with our doctor and we were let out around midnight. They did not apologise and when I asked them about the fingerprints and photographs they said they would be destroyed. How can I be sure?"

She intends to ask ADE to make inquiries about these personal records.

Mr Tony Smythe, secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, argued yesterday that the police had no powers to photograph or fingerprint unless the person was charged. Once charged, a magistrate's order was required if the person refused.

"The police are habitually, consistently and deliberately moving beyond the considerable powers they already possess," he said. "The Reading operation was an implicit threat—part of the atmosphere where police are turning the screws on young people."

ADE said yesterday that 557 uniformed policemen, 200 security staff and an undisclosed number of drug squad officers were in Reading although there was no violence.

Tax plea for disabled

Britain's 2,500 "disabled passengers"—people who are too disabled to drive their own cars and have to be driven by friends—may become eligible for road tax exemption for their vehicles if a clause proposed by Mr Neil Marten, MP, is included in the Finance Act, to be debated in the Commons next week, writes Wendy Hughes.

Mr Marten says: "Disabled drivers get Government help but if you are too disabled to drive, you do not get it."

A fighting committee to press for full implementation by its county council for the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act, 1970, was formed in Kent last week following an intensive campaign by the Kent Evening Post.

Mr Alfred Morris, MP, sponsor of the Act, urged the campaigners—members of local societies and organisations for the disabled—not to be "fobbed off" by local authorities who say they would like to implement the Act but cannot afford to do so.

But Mr Anthony Frank of the Spastics Society, warned the campaigners not to be belligerent. "You will succeed only if the tasks are shared between professional people on the council and you—the voluntary bodies—working together for full implementation of the Act," he said.

Court Circular

PALACE OF HOLYROODHOUSE
JULY 3, 1971

The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh attended a service in St Giles' Cathedral this morning for the installation of General Sir Richard O'Connor and the Earl of Dalhousie as Knights of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle.

Her Majesty was attended by Lord Ogilvy (Page of Honour). Mrs John Dugdale, Lieutenant-Colonel the Right Hon Sir Michael Adeane, Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon Sir Martin Charteris and Lieutenant-Commander John Slater, RN, were in attendance.

Her Majesty and His Royal Highness later left Turnhouse Airport in an aircraft of the Queen's Flight for Heathrow Airport, London.

The Princess Anne today visited HMNZS Canterbury (Captain DBN Mellis, RN Retd, Master of the Ship).

Her Royal Highness subsequently left Fort Matilda Playing Fields in an aircraft of the Queen's Flight for Heathrow Airport, London.

Miss Rowena Brassey was in attendance.

THATCHED HOUSE LODGE, RICHMOND PARK, SURREY.

Princess Alexandra, Chancellor of the University of Lancaster, today presided at two congregations for the conferment of BA and B Ed degrees. Her Royal Highness travelled in an aircraft of The Queen's Flight.

Joe Crazy shook Mafia

Michael Leapman
New York

Y Joe Colombo was shot dead, the first man to be killed up for questioning by Joe Gallo. This was Crazy Joe's prestige, or not he had anything to do with the shooting, the re-paying him the com-

re-cognising that he to gain from it, that he successor to Colombo, work's Mafia overlord.

Joe Crazy Joe was re-imprisoned in May after a eight-year sentence for there had been that he was going to try

er from Colombo. The shooting in front of thousands at a rally Colombo had organised, preceded by an attack

bo and some of his followers in a month men dressed as house Gallo is a long-time Colombo. Students of thought they detected in the beating-up and it as a warning.

42-year-old Crazy Joe of jail, he was given a 15-year sentence by 501. The following re-count of the party, to a police official, was in the magazine New before the Colombo

I of playing humble, he made a speech to the old-ying they had better in for black racketeers. could believe it. There telling a bunch of Petes they should acks, when those old-ans don't even want to lians."

zy Joe has cleverly the Black Power issue, a reputation when in-sharpion of the rights isoners, leading several ions on their behalf.

hanson, the man who critically wounded and who was himself immediately after-black.

with blacks in senior could cause problems ice. This, perhaps, is seem to be trying hard who put Johnson up

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Peacocke of the RUC

After 170 days, nine million words and £500,000, the Scarman Tribunal is preparing to report Why Patrick Rooney, 9, should not have died



The sad last journey of the white coffin

AFTER TWO years of evidence, some in secret, Sir Leslie Scarman last Friday completed hearings into the Ulster fighting in 1969 which led to the present involvement of 10,000 British troops. No judicial assessment of tragedy is possible before Sir Leslie's full report in the autumn, but, with the help of previously secret testimony released to him by the Tribunal last week, Tony Geraghty has been able to put together an account of one controversial incident, the night police armoured cars opened fire. It is also clear, he says, that the over-armed but undermanned police force, sensing disaster ahead, did ask for the British army to intervene a fortnight before it did.

IN THE EARLY hours of August 15, 1969, three armoured cars manned by police officers cruised into Divis, near the centre of Belfast, and opened fire with 30 Browning machine-guns. These

are high velocity weapons with a maximum range of about two miles and are meant for border warfare. The fact that they shot bullets about the size of a traditional 303 at the rate of 10 every second, makes it all but impossible to discharge fewer than five bullets in a single burst.

Soon after this episode, ballistics experts confirmed that at least eight bursts of high velocity gunfire had slammed into a block of "not particularly robust" post-war flats overlooking the street along which the armoured cars had passed.

Four bullets entered the apartment where Patrick Rooney, aged nine, lived. His father had headed the Government's plea to keep children off the streets, so young Rooney was sheltering in his bedroom when half his head was blown away.

Preceded by the man with a white flag, the child was carried out of the flat during a pause in the gunfire. Ballistics evidence

has shown that bullets which struck the Rooney flat and then disintegrated were fired from the spot where the Brownings had been shooting.

The child's death—on which an open verdict was returned at a local inquest—was the ultimate excess before peace was tentatively restored by the British Army in 1969. In three days and nights of rioting ten civilians died and 145 were wounded by gunfire. Four police officers also suffered gunshot wounds.

THE MEN AT the centre were Sir Robert Porter, Ulster's Minister of Home Affairs; Mr J. A. Peacocke, then Inspector-General of the Royal Ulster Constabulary; Mr A. H. Wolsley, then RUC Commissioner for Belfast; his deputy, Mr S. J. Bradley; two comparatively junior police officers, District Inspector D. Cushey and Head Constable W. J. Gray, and the

anonymous police crews inside the armoured cars.

The two police officers at the top wanted the British Army to move in and take over at the beginning of August. Sir Robert explained that the British Government had said it must "consider the implications." Faced with deadlock between the two governments, the police were obliged to act on the assumption that if army aid was to be obtained it must be (as Sir Robert explained) through the soldier's common law obligation to put down riot in Her Majesty's Realm.

Intervention, even on this uncertain basis, was subject to a critical condition, spelled out in the messages log of 39 Infantry Brigade on August 3. "No question of committing troops until all methods have been exhausted by the police."

One implication of this "common law" policy was that the exclusively Protestant Ulster

Special Constabulary had to be mobilised.

On August 14, at the start of the last full day on which the RUC would be responsible for Ulster security, Commissioner Wolsley and his Deputy, Mr Bradley, discussed what to do.

By now, Bradley's intelligence sources were speaking of an alleged IRA plan to pick off isolated policemen and shoot them. According to evidence both men have given, they decided to recommend to Inspector-General Peacocke that the RUC's custom-built Shoreland armoured cars, brought on to the streets the previous evening, should be fitted with the powerful Browning machine guns normally reserved for border skirmishes.

Once the decision had been taken to mount the guns on the vehicles, as Sir Leslie Scarman pointed out more than once, it was likely that they would be used in the city, a fact about which he was "immensely

troubled." What is still unclear is who took that decision.

Deputy Commissioner Bradley said that he and his immediate superior, Mr Wolsley, had recommended this course, but that the actual decision would be for Inspector-General Peacocke. Mr Peacocke told the Tribunal that he did not recall having been asked to take such a decision.

Like Sir Robert, he learned only after the event that the guns were in action, though he would have supported a recommendation made to him by Mr Wolsley.

Indeed, Mr Peacocke conceded, he had picked up the telephone on the morning of August 14, called Short Brothers and Harlands, and ordered from their local Glen Works another ten Shoreland armoured cars, some of which were delivered the following day.

The man at the centre of this uncertainty is the former Belfast police chief, Mr Wolsley. He told the Tribunal that in November, 1969, "I was written off as being too ill to go on." At many vital points in his evidence, his memory failed. For instance, he told counsel, he could not recall having informed a British brigadier that "there were armed bands roaming the grounds of the Royal Victoria Hospital who had taken over the operating theatre." Nor could he remember how the decision to arm the Shorelands with Browning machine guns was reached.

As rioting, petrol bombing and shooting spread across Belfast during August 14 and 15 the battle was at its most savage in a compact area of Victorian housing class housing dominated by a post-war complex of flats and maisonettes at Divis Street, on the Falls Road.

The flats loom over Hastings Street police barracks, which came under fierce attack. A few hundred yards away, on the opposite side of the road, the Catholic school of St Comgall was also attacked by a mob that swarmed out of the Protestant Shankill Road into the Catholic end of Percy Street. Both buildings were defended by marksmen. Two Catholics were shot down in front of the barracks and ten Protestants were wounded, one fatally, in the one hour between that point and the school.

Deputy Commissioner Bradley directed the battle from inside Hastings Street Barracks, but the men making critical command decisions on the ground at Dover Street and Percy Street, opposite the school, were District Inspector Cushey and Head Constable Gray. In the RUC hierarchy a "DI" is a Commissioned rank. That night, Mr Cushey was the only one on the scene throughout the battle.

MR CUSHEY describes himself as "the first RUC man trained as a Browning gunner." When he was trained by the British Army, he said, "we did not discuss using the Browning in an urban area." The army instructor told us that the Terret armoured cars were used in Aden in urban areas and obviously when we were being instructed we realised the fire power and potential of a Browning machine gun.

The newly-released Tribunal transcripts reveal that most of the Shoreland crews had been put together for the first time on the day they went into action. They arrived, some already exhausted after two days of fighting, at Musgrave Street police barracks, Belfast, on August 14, for a briefing by two Head Constables who stressed the violence of attacks made on fellow police officers in Belfast the previous night.

The crews' evidence, given at a top secret hearing of the Tribunal on June 10, identifies them only by code letters. Witness "U", commander of Red Seven, an armoured car involved in the most controversial episode of the night, told the Tribunal that he had never seen a Shoreland armoured car or a Browning machine gun before that day. His gunner, Mr "Y", said that after a week's training course "I very much doubt not actually have done very much firing" because he was instructing other trainee gunners whose annual Browning practice amounted to about 25 to 30 rounds of live shooting. Since 1968, the Army had given Mr "Y" a one-day refresher course.

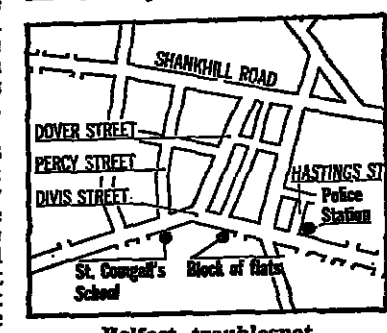
He confirmed that there were problems about using the Shoreland's periscope sight. "It is difficult at night. In fact, you

need an overhead source of light to light it up, passing under a street lamp or something like that. If you haven't got an overhead source of light... Mr more or less have to guess the 'Y' admitted that during the nocturnal battle of August 14/15 he was "absolutely frightened to death."

THE EVIDENCE of Mr Cushey, Mr Gray, the armoured car crews and some eye witnesses provides a tolerably clear picture of how the armoured cars were used. Mr Gray said that when he arrived on the scene a Protestant civilian named Herbert Roy was bleeding to death from a bullet wound.

"People were shouting: 'A man is dying. A man is dying. What are you going to do?' There was an awful racket going on and I was not really taking in what was being said. I was trying to assess the situation." Part of his assessment was that the riot in front of the school could be halted if the armoured cars fired over the heads of the rioters. He told the leading armoured car commander to do this, adding that the crew could fire back for effect. If they were fired upon. This instruction was slightly amplified soon afterwards by Mr Cushey: "They could engage an identifiable target. Their bursts were to be kept short."

Mr Gray said he saw no activity in the Divis Street flats to justify firing Brownings at them. Mr Cushey told the Tribunal



Belfast troublespot

that in his opinion if the armoured car crew had spotted an identifiable target in the flats they would be authorised to fire at that target in spite of the risk to innocent people.

The crews themselves described how, as they approached the school, they were shot at by a machine gun at St Comgall's School, at the bottom of Percy Street, and how they fired back. The cars then withdrew towards the city centre. What happened next is the subject of a flat contradiction in the evidence of the Commander and gunner respectively of Red Seven. Head Constable Gray, who initiated the sortie from Dover Street—a junction between the school and the flats—another affirms that the cars came from the school, and swept on past the junction and along Divis Street towards the flats.

He said: "I again heard the sound of firing there—a mixed firing I would say. They seemed to be light weapons, plus the heavy Brownings."

ACCORDING to the gunner of Red Seven, Mr "Y", it was while they were driving towards the city centre that he saw a man hurl a hand grenade under the vehicle as they passed the flats and maisonettes. He traversed the gun and fired two short bursts, aiming low, after they had passed their attacker who was on a corner of the Divis Towers building.

His commander, witness "U", said they were travelling in the opposite direction, out of town, and passed two guerrilla attackers on their left, where the flats were. The first was a man with a machine gun, "the next was a man who threw a silvery coloured object which exploded under them. He ordered the gunner to open fire at the man who had thrown the bomb. The gunner had done so, firing forward."

Scarman asked witness "U": "You say quite clearly that your gunner never did fire on the street machine gunner?" "Definitely, my Lord."

Because, if he had done so when you were alongside him, then the fire of your gunner could very well have reached the so-called maisonettes?" "Yes, my Lord."

It was inside the maisonettes, in line with the point where the street machine gunner allegedly stood, that Patrick Rooney, aged nine, was sheltering in his bedroom.

Kissinger raises hopes in Saigon

By Derek Wilt
Saigon

THE VISIT to Saigon of Kissinger, President's special adviser, has considerable excitement on it than on the latest South Vietnamese Co-peace proposals tabled in Paris talks.

The timing of his visit in the middle of reports that the Government may be changing the Vietnam policy of the South Vietnamese Presidential elections, many to think that Dr has brought something indeed in his bag.

There are two main thoughts. One is that Dr has come to make a statement on whether the States should continue to support Thieu and, if so, to do so in a way to ensure Dr's election. In many people Dr Kissinger is seen as the desire for a meaning, the maintenance of the present government, the Vietnamisation and the continuance of policy towards North Vietnam.

The second school believes that Dr Kissinger foresees a dramatic development in the Vietnam policy, and holds this view for reasons:

1. A military victory the long or the short, the American troops are not to be withdrawn. The American thinking is that the government is not to be withdrawn. The American thinking is that the government is not to be withdrawn.

2. The announcement of a peace proposal. These are regarded as not so much because the content of the proposal is very much the same but because of the timing of the talks moving.

3. Dr Kissinger is not only to President Thieu but also to Vice-President Nixon. Kissinger's political figures in Saigon are Henry Brandon, an American delegation Paris peace talks asked to seek further the latest NLF prisoner-of-war quest case domestic issue as administration has not to pour cold water quickly.

The new proposal is to what extent the will insist on a coalition government in Saigon, a two-way election in September obviously not a negotiation, and whether it also include North forces withdrawing Vietnam.

But the mood is Congress that what now is to obtain the POW.

● In Saigon, yesterday Nguyen Van Thieu, the President, said the No peace plan, said the little from previous proposals. He promised that "We shall be so carefully... We are our goodwill for peace solution to the war to dated settlement."

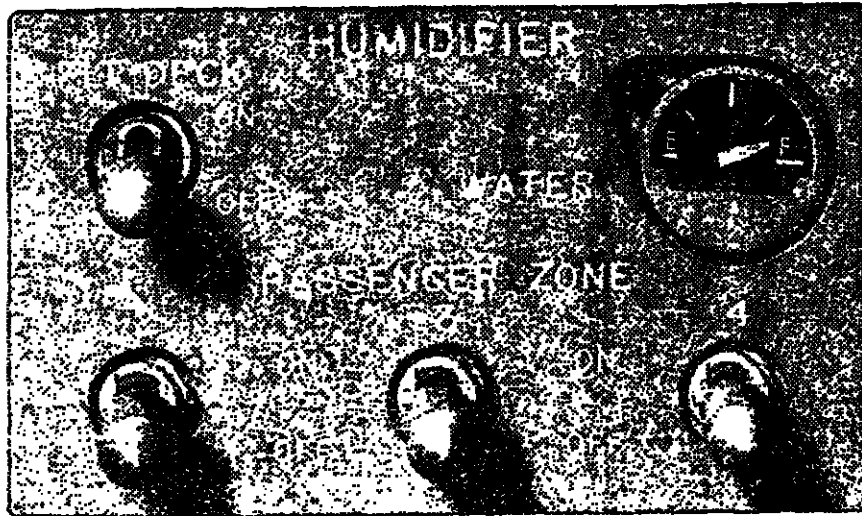
Schools S Fairs 197. The 1971 series Times/British Assoc Fairs for Schools—popular BBC television Young Scientists of based—starts on the Patrick Moore, the will open the Oxford Fair at the Oxford Fair at Birmingham from September 1 Lincolnshire Fair, 14. All are open public.

The BBC programme of the Y Fair is broadcast in its final early in the

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Oyster plague sends prices tumbling

By Denis Herbstein

THE PORTUGUESE oyster, a favourite with the British seaside holidaymaker, may rise steeply in price in the next few months because a mysterious disease is wiping out stocks in most of the oyster farms of western France. The French, who every year devour about 600 million oysters compared with Britain's 3 million, are now expected to look to British growers to fill the gap.

There is no guarantee that the disease will not reach Britain's oyster beds, but the law says that shellfish brought into Britain for re-laying must be subjected to strict supervision.

Portuguese oysters—known to the trade as "Portis"—normally

sell at £1 a dozen at British seaside resorts, but last week they were fetching twice that sum in one London oyster bar. The great merit of the "Port" is that it is the oyster that can be eaten in the closed season, from May 12 to August 4.

The mystery disease in France is affecting the whole oyster area from Isigny in Normandy to the Marennes basin south of Bordeaux. Hundreds of labourers are out of work. Huge piles of rotting oysters on the river beds are being offered to farmers as fertiliser.

One Cornwall oyster farmer,

Leonard Hodges, blames the French Pacific oyster from Brittany. In every gigas has been France, the "Port" wiped out by the north Brittany, was not laid, d flourishing.

"We wanted to gigas here, but it is a nature, reser isolating the par several genera release them to the when they are hap disease. If there i France, our oys demand."

Atticus

lack arks

ARED with the passions of American court-room, the Halls of Justice are mild. When the judge who feels the case coming on to leave the everyone at once alters his expression to one of proper seems pretty strange to a Britisher, who's just in Britain to organise Angela Davis' book. Come in the Morning. Davis is a kind of Black of Arc and currently in America's most sensational to date. (Angela 27, former philosophy at University of California, Los Angeles, and former of Herbert Marcuse, is on of being involved in the of a judge in California August.)

treatment of the defendants Rafael courtroom echoes famous Chicago Conspiracy when Black Panther Bobby was tied to a chair and in order that Justice could on. There's a bizarre each day when Russell Angela's co-defendant, clanking into court wearing handcuffs which are chained waist, and chains round his then he's chained to the. But in spite of being ed, he's still been able to protest. Magee kicked out with chained feet, and his defending counsel on. "It was only a scotch says Mrs Aptheker, "but nsel fell over backwards, turned to the judge and 4y client and I seem to slight communication

Angela Davis comes into everyone applauds. When securing counsel comes in. s. When the judge comes don't do anything. la Aptheker is white, ix years old and barely tall. She writes for a ist weekly paper, which her more serious matter States than here. "My Jack, is about to lose his job," she says. "For the oneness of marriage known Communist." verdict the jury reaches rial remains to be seen, e's no doubt in Bettina's al the result will be for Nixon's administra- cause it polarises the d white issue. "Nixon yady made his feelings ne says. "When the FBI up with Angela, Nixon TV and congratulated Hoover for 'picking up own terrorist."

personal?
see pages 19-21,
24 & 31



A bit of white magic: Wheatley and Buddha

That old Black Magic

CRIME pays best, Black Magic says best. Dennis Wheatley should know. He has just finished his ninth book on the black arts, *The Devil and All His Works*, and this time he's put the lot in. It's the whole shooting match, he told David Blundy: "Necromancy, oracles, astrology, all the world's religions."

Wheatley's made a formidable name for himself with a lifetime of cloak-and-dagger stuff; his sixty books or more have given away titles like *Curtain of Fear*, *The Wanton Princess*, *The Eunuch of Stamboul*.

He wrote his first Black Magic tale, *The Devil Rides Out*, in 1935, and he's been coining it ever since. "I've sold 27 million books, and they've been translated into twenty-six languages," he says proudly. (No. 29 million, say his publishers.) King George VI was a fan but his most devoted follower is Sergeant Iwan Hedman in the Swedish Army who publishes a monthly Wheatley fan mag.

Wheatley has been grappling with the Devil for over thirty years now, and frankly the Devil's been pretty decent about it. Wheatley is a hale and hearty seventy-four, and lives in some splendour in a flat in Chelsea.

He knows too much about the occult to dabble himself, although he's invited to all the best orgies and Black Masses in Town. "I always turn them down. They can be dangerous. They can interfere with your work and your family." Once one of his friends tried to tame a demon and lost all his teeth. In fact Wheatley doesn't take today's Black Magic people very seriously. "Only a few have real power. Most of them use it as an excuse for taking their clothes off and having an orgy. An excuse for rogering."

metrist had to say what they made of me. I gave the psychometrist a pair of my braces. He stroked them for a bit and said: 'You're a famous writer; you travel a lot, and there's something wrong with your left leg.' Amazingly enough I had been having a pain in my left leg. I didn't even tell my wife. I went to a doctor after the show and he said the muscle on the thigh was slightly wasting. Magic? Or had they seen him limping?

Wheatley once had a reputation for racism. "It used to be a canon in the old days that thriller writers never mentioned sex. I was the first to treat characters as human beings, jumping into bed with people who weren't actually their wives." But he knows where to draw the line. "Some of these modern novels are too explicit. They have chaps doing absurd feats, rogering everyone. It's impractical. You can't roger that many women, even in your youth."

AN AMERICAN author's agent in London was somewhat startled to receive this letter the other day, signed by the Rev. Joseph D. Chavella of San Francisco:

Perhaps you have heard of me and my nationwide campaign in the cause of temperance. Each year, for the past fourteen years, I have made a tour of Northern California and delivered a series of lectures on the evils of drinking.

On these tours, I have been accompanied by my young friend and assistant, Clyde Lindstrom. Clyde, a young man of good family and excellent background, is a pathetic case whose life was ruined by excessive indulgence in whiskey, gambling, and women.

Clyde would appear with me at lectures and sit on the platform wheezing and staring at the audience through bleary, bloodshot eyes while I would point him out as an example of what drinking would do to a person.

Last summer, unfortunately, Clyde died. A mutual friend has given me your name, and I wonder if you would care to take Clyde's place on my spring tour.

Horning in

IN THE BEGINNING Hemingway taught the Spanish how to fight bulls properly. Hemingway begat the theatre critic, Kenneth Tynan, who explained it was a minor art, like jazz. And now it's an English consultant engineer, Walter Johnson, who's come forward to put this time-honoured and brutal sport on a scientific basis.

Johnson has applied his scientific skills to studying the question that has puzzled aficionados down the centuries: why the stupid bull doesn't rush the matador instead of his cape. It's all a question of optics, he thinks, and he's prepared dozens of charts to explain his theories, which go into technicalities: "Assuming the bull has its eyes open during the charge, it is the marriage of the anti-cone of immunity, the frontal zone of immunity, and the two fringe zones that affords some measure of protection for the experienced torero and assists him in prolonging the deception of the bull." In plain English: the bull's left eye doesn't know what it's right eye is doing; the eyes are set at an angle, so it can't correlate the two images, bullfighter and cape.

Cordobes, whose bull-fighting scars laid end to end would wrap right round his waist, doesn't know his frontal zone of immunity from his anti-cone. But Manolete had the idea, says Johnson. "He started recalcitrant bulls by advancing in *echelon*, moving nearer to the bull, thus gaining greater immunity zone coverage."

Johnson is forty-seven. He became a bullfight aficionado from the day he first went to Spain 17 years ago. His house in the Surrey commuter belt is called Los Caracoles (snails) and

he used to have his friends down to practise bullfighting passes in the grounds of nearby Woldingham convent school before the Mother Superior objected. "She was no aficionado. She told us to clear off."

He is president of Britain's only bull-fighting club, the Club Taurino, which has 300 members, including Tynan, a surgeon, two lawyers and a plain-clothes detec-

tive. The wilder members sometimes go up into the Welsh mountains and chase black bulls. In Spain, Johnson did try to put his theories to the test fighting cows in a practice ring. He got a nasty surprise, because cows aren't so daft as bulls. "They can be quite dangerous. They lack testicles, you see, so they can turn in a flash. A bull would catch his testicles."

Johnson: in the zone of anti-immunity



Booked

LUTON'S borough librarian, Frank Gardner, who's 62, has just made publishing history. He took a publisher to court under the Trade Descriptions Act. He won the case and the publisher had to cough up a £125 fine.

Frank Gardner, who's been in Luton's library thirty years, had ordered a book which sounded very promising: *The Bibliography of Contemporary Poets, 1971*. It was described as "a comprehensive international index of today's writers of poetry." When he got the book he saw red. To start with, there was no Cecil Day Lewis, the Poet Laureate. And no John Betjeman. As the Borough's prosecution counsel pointed out in court, it was like a football index which left out Bobby Moore and George Best.

"I was so damned annoyed," said Mr Gardner. "Having paid my two pound ten, I went to see one people at the Town Hall. The Trade Descriptions Act comes under the Weights and Measures people, and it so happened the Weights and Measures inspector was a bookish man himself."

Had publishers' blurb-writers better look out in future? "They'd better think twice before calling a book comprehensive," said Mr Gardner.

For blurb-writers who feel they should review their words of praise; Philip Norman suggests this new vocabulary.

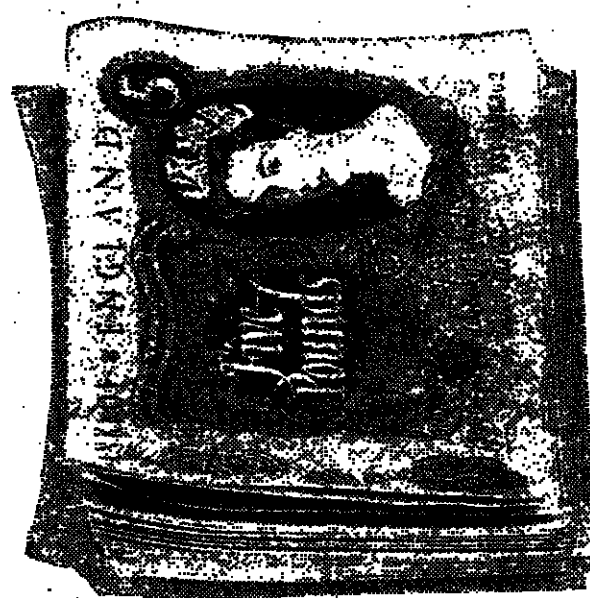
A book uniquely and poignantly of its time: written by a silly young man. France's most distinguished novelist: written by a Frenchman.

Written by a gifted young Malawian: written by a black man. This book is unexpurgated: we fondly believe you'll find it dirty.

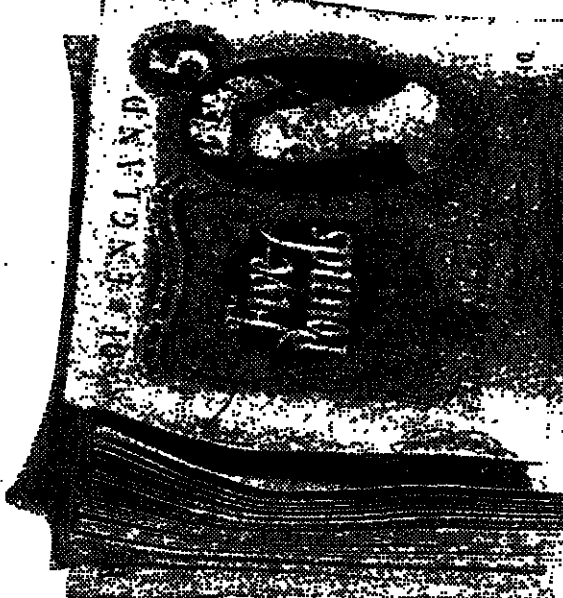
Immensely well researched, twenty years in the writing, unique, authoritative and definitive: long. This is more than just a novel: it is just a novel.

Michael Bateman

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£100 put in a Building Society in 1950. Worth £208 at the end of 1970.



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£100 put in Scotbits in 1950. Worth £1599 at the end of 1970.

For the short term, there are many sound ways of saving with little to choose between them.

Invest in a Building Society and your money, while you're saving up for a car for example, is safe. National Savings Certificates are the same and both pay a fair rate of interest.

For the long term however, the choice is more difficult. The trouble is that the cost of living is rising continuously and this causes the real value of money—and therefore of savings—to fall.

In fact, you would have required £312 at the end of 1970 to buy what £100 bought in 1950. So if your long-term savings are to mean anything, it's vital that they should be given a real chance to grow. And to grow faster than the cost of living.

That's where Scotbits comes in. Over the past 34 years Scotbits has given that chance to many thousands of savers.

Many have had at least £100 invested in Scotbits since 1950. By putting their money to

work in a wide variety of successful companies Scotbits increased the value of that original £100 to £1599.

Of course, nobody would suggest that this rate of growth would necessarily continue, but if you want your long-term savings to grow over the years, put them into Scotbits; the chances are you'll get a lot more back.

But remember, the price of units and the income from them can go down as well as up.

You may invest a lump sum of £50 or more in Scotbits at once, or alternatively build up your stake in Scotbits by saving a regular amount every month with the Scotbits Securities Savings Plan, and get tax relief too. Your Savings Plan can run for 15, 20 or 25 years depending on your needs. You can join at any age up to 50, provided your Plan finishes by your 65th birthday.

By starting a £10-a-month Plan running for 20 years, you can have initial life assurance cover of £2400 at once. (With a 15 or 25 year Plan the insurance is in

proportion.) Plus the possibility of tax relief of as much as £18.60 each year, at 1971-72 tax rates. Your first two months' contributions go towards setting up your Plan and starting your insurance cover, after which up to 95% of contributions are invested in Scotbits units.

If you should die before you have completed your Plan we guarantee that your family will receive a sum equal to the total amount you would have saved during your Plan. For example, if you were saving £10 per month over 20 years your family could count on a minimum of £2400—and it could easily be more depending on the value of Scotbits units.

At the end of your Plan you simply cash in at the net value of the units credited to it. You can stop your Plan at any time if you wish, though it is in your interest to allow it to mature.

For an immediate purchase of Scotbits send the top coupon with your remittance. To start a Scotbits Securities Savings Plan, complete the proposal form and we will reserve a Plan for you. If you are under 50 and can answer Questions 7 and 10 satisfactorily you don't even have to take a medical, as a rule.

General Information

Trust Aim. Scotbits' aim is long-term growth for both capital and income. The £68m. fund is invested mainly in the financial sector of the Stock Market.

Experience has shown that investments of this kind tend to hold up well in inflationary times and provide an excellent way of obtaining long-term capital growth.

Scotbits is backed by all the skill and experience of Scotbits Securities Ltd.—a part of Britain's largest unit trust group which has more than £500,000,000 currently invested on behalf of over 700,000 clients.

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Units are easy to buy. Units are always available from the Managers at a price based on the value of the assets of the Trust. Current prices are quoted in leading newspapers.

And to sell—when you decide to sell, which you may do at any time, the Managers will buy back units at not less than the bid price calculated on the day your instructions are received, in accordance with a formula approved by the Department of Trade and Industry. Payment is normally made within seven days.

Safeguards. The Trust is authorised by the Department of Trade and Industry, and is a "wider-range" investment under the Trustee Investments Act, 1961. The Trustee is The Royal Bank of Scotland Limited.

Prices. The offer price includes an initial service charge not exceeding 5%, plus a small rounding up charge. Out of this, commission of 1% will be paid to Banks, Stockbrokers, Solicitors and Accountants on applications bearing their stamp.

Income. The current estimated gross yield on 1st July, 1971, when the unit offer price was 46.9p was 2.22% per annum. Distributions of net income are made on 1st March and 1st September each year. They can be re-invested in further units if you wish. A half-yearly charge currently of 18.75p per £100 of the value of the fund is deducted from the Trust's income to defray Managers' expenses including Trustees' fees.

Managers: Scotbits Securities Limited. (A member of the Association of Unit Trust Managers.) Franklin House, 68-73 Queen Street, Edinburgh, EH2 4NX. Tel: 031-226 7351.

Figures based on data from Central Statistical Office (31 Dec. '70), Building Societies Association (31 Dec. '70), National Savings (31 Dec. '70) and Scotbits Securities Ltd. (31 Dec. '70).

Application for an outright purchase of Scotbits Units.

To: Scotbits Securities Ltd. (London Office), Perth Road, Ilford, Essex. Tel: 01-554 2237

To make an outright purchase of units please complete and return this form, either directly or through your bank, stockbroker, solicitor or accountant, together with your remittance. We will not acknowledge receipt of your application and remittance but will despatch a certificate for the units within 21 days.

Please issue to make Scotbits units to the value of £ (insert amount of remittance) calculated on the offer price ruling on receipt of this application. (Minimum initial purchase £50.) A remittance is enclosed.

Units will be allocated to the full value of your remittance to two decimal places. Please make cheques payable to "Scotbits Securities Ltd."

If we declare that I am over 75 and am not resident outside the U.K. or other Scheduled Territories and that I am not acquiring the above units as the nominee of any person resident outside these Territories, (if you are unable to make this residential declaration it should be deleted and the form lodged through your bank, stockbroker or solicitor.)

Existing Scotbits unitholders please tick here ☐ I R E

To have distributions re-invested please tick here ☐ I R E

First Name(s) Mr/Ms/Ms/Ms or Mrs

Address

Signature(s) Date (in case of joint applications, all must sign)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY S/407/1807Y

Proposal for a Scotbits Securities Savings Plan.

To: Scotbits Securities Ltd. (London Office), Perth Road, Ilford, Essex. Tel: 01-554 2237

1. Life to be secured (On full Mr/Ms/Ms First name(s) Surname)

Maiden name if married woman

2. Address

3. Name of Trust: Scotbits Unit Trust

4. Monthly contribution (not less than £2 and multiples of £1) £ Do not send a remittance with this proposal.

5. Term of Plan: 15, 20, 25 years All Plans must finish by Age 65.

6. Date of Birth

7. Has a proposal for assurance on your life ever been declined, deferred or accepted on special terms? State yes or no. If yes, please give details below

8. Give details of any other proposal which you have made for a Scotbits Securities Savings Plan.

9. Have you any prospect or intention of dying other than as a free-paying passenger on a recognized air service? State yes or no. If yes, please give details below

10. Have you had any illness or consulted a doctor during the last five years? State yes or no. If yes, please give details below

11. Name and address of your usual doctor

Signature Date S/407/1807X

Declaration by the Proposer. I declare to the best of my knowledge and belief that I am in good health and that the answers to the foregoing questions are true and correct and I agree that this proposal shall be the basis of the contract between me and Scotbits Securities Limited. I consent to the Company seeking medical information from any doctor who at any time has attended me, or seeking information from any life assurance office to which I have at any time made a proposal for life assurance, and I authorize the giving of such information.

THE SUNDAY TIMES

AND THEY LIVED MISERABLY EVER AFTER

ONCE UPON A TIME, in the spring mists of 1970, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Britain was bewitched by the wizards of his Treasury. Henceforth when his subjects saw dark skies, he would see only sunshine. When that summer there was a new Chancellor the spell grew stronger still. If his subjects wailed that they had only gruel to eat, the Chancellor could only see a great banquet. His magic computers told him that everyone would grow rich and happy, and when instead, they said they grew poorer, the Chancellor chided them for impatience. And when it happened again, and again, and again, he began to wake from the spell, and he went back to his wizards and was bewitched again.

It is not a very happy fairy tale and last week Mr Anthony Barber showed little sign of awakening. The narrative below shows how marvellously his optimism has resisted successive cold douches of reality, notably from the National Institute for Economic and Social Research, unemployment figures (and also from The Sunday Times since March, 1970).

April 14, 1970: Mr Roy Jenkins, Labour's Chancellor in his Budget speech:

"I believe that we now have an opportunity, such as has not occurred for a good many years past, to set the economy on a path of sustained and accelerating growth. . . . I conclude that it is right to give a modest stimulus to the economy . . . the prospect for the economy after these changes, is a rate of growth . . . of about 3½ per cent between the first halves of 1970 and 1971."

April 14, Unemployment: 567,000.

[How did Mr Jenkins' Treasury forecast fare? By April 1971 the revised Treasury forecast (Financial Statement) indicated a growth of just over 1 per cent in the gross domestic product between the first halves of 1970 and 1971. But even that may be optimistic. The latest forecast (May, 1971) of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research indicates probably a slight contraction between the first halves of 1970 and 1971. . . .]

July 5, 1970. Sunday Times editorial:

"We argued in March for substantial reflation of around £400 million. . . . What we got was about £200 million in April. The Treasury were wrong then and they are wrong now. . . . to argue that there is enough reflation in the pipeline to get the country moving again, Mr Macleod."

July 7, 1970. Mr Iain Macleod, Chancellor:

"Demand and activity are rather sluggish and unemployment is high compared with the post-war average. On the other hand, there is a strongly rising trend in wages and prices. . . . As Shadow Chancellor I christened it "stagflation." My predecessor . . . foreshadowed a rate of increase in the economy of 3½ per cent between the first halves of

1970 and 1971. So far, we have not been living up to that estimate. . . . [but] although the growth side has been disappointing, there are some signs pointing the other way. . . . I conclude, therefore, that although the recent performance of the economy has been disappointing, it would be premature at the moment to take action to stimulate demand."

July 1970 Unemployment 593,000

August, 1970. The National Institute:

"Not only has the level of economic activity already fallen below our earlier conservative estimates, but the prospects for further expansion now seem to be less assured. . . . Reflation remains the appropriate policy."

August 1970 Unemployment 593,000

November 3, 1970. Mr Anthony Barber, Chancellor:

"On all the information available it seems that over the coming six months or so, the upward trend in the output of the economy as a whole will be broadly in line with the estimated rise in productive potential. . . . I have naturally considered whether to take steps to reflate the economy . . . but it would be wrong to take any steps to increase further pressure on demand. . . . The fears of a further rise in unemployment have so far."

November 1970 Unemployment 579,000

February, 1971. The National Institute:

"It was not very long before it became apparent that the budget (1970) forecast was in error. . . . The growth of output in 1970, for the second year running, was low. Year on year, it was about 1½ per cent."

February 1971 Unemployment 623,000

March 14, 1970. Sunday Times editorial:

"It cannot be said that our prosperity has been well managed in the last two years. To some extent it is a measure of how deep seated as well

as misjudged is the Treasury's incorrigible caution, and how consistently Chancellors have been emasculated by it. . . .

March, 1971: Unemployment, 656,000.

March 30, 1971. Mr Barber in his Budget speech:

"The conclusion I have reached is that in the absence of new measures, national output would grow by not much more than 2 per cent between the first half of 1971 and the first half of 1972. The broad aim (of the Budget) should be an addition of demand adequate to raise the growth of expansion of output to the rate of growth of productive potential, which is estimated to be about 3 per cent. . . .

March, 1971: Unemployment, 656,000.

May, 1971. The National Institute Economic Review:

"The prospect . . . for the current year is one of stagnation. . . . [Neither the Budget nor other reflationary factors] is "likely to have much effect this year; their main impact will be felt in 1972. . . . The prospect for growth from now on [is] a shade better than it seemed three months ago but the base from which this prospective expansion begins is lower than anticipated."

May, 1971: Unemployment 731,000.

June 24, 1971. Mr Barber:

"It would be wrong to rush into precipitate action. We all know where it got us in the past. . . . but if I then [next month] judge that further action is called for I shall not hesitate to take it."

June 28, 1971. Mr Barber:

"I believe that the increase in g.d.p. [output] between the first half of this year and the first half of next year of 3 per cent, which is what I expected at the time of the Budget, will prove to be the case. . . . [but] . . . any figures . . . about the likely course for the rest of the year are bound to be subject to the outcome of [the July] review. . . . If I then

judge that further action is called for, I shall not hesitate to take it. . . . it is folly to chop and change from month to month."

June, 1971: Unemployment 741,000.

THERE IS much potency in the percentage points of the narrative. Our productive potential was to grow richer by 3 to 3½ per cent in 1970 (and as our Economic Editor points out today on page 40 we are starting from a lower base). A lack of growth of say 1 per cent under potential represents about £400m in lost wealth. And means about another 80,000 unemployed.

What are the portents now? One indicator is the index of industrial production. It shows an increase of only 0.5 per cent in the fourth quarter of 1970 and no movement between that quarter and the first quarter this year. The signs are that output in the first-half of 1971 will have contracted compared with the first half of 1970. But just like a year ago Mr Barber is waiting for a message from the magic computers.

Down with brontosaurus

WOMAN'S PLACE, in the view of a sufficient majority of the members of the London Stock Exchange is in the home, or in the typing pool—not in trading a mixed bunch of Poseidon shares and 3½ per cent War Loan. So they are, for the moment, excluded from the floor of what one of its more elderly and obfuscated members chooses to call a "private men's club, and not a business institution." And last week in the House of Commons, the Under Secretary of State for Employment, Mr Dudley Smith, confessed that the Government shared this deplorable view—at least to the extent of refusing to introduce any legislation designed to set it aside.

This really will not do. Even the son of the ageing member (also a fully-fledged stockbroker) has gone into print to dissociate himself forcibly from the parental dictat. The chairman of the Stock Exchange Sir Martin Wilkinson has stirred himself to utter a public rebuke, reaffirming that the institution over which he presides exists to perform a public service not to provide a background for polishing dirty jokes and playing prep school games. But the Government prefers to accept the vote of the brontosaurus majority, and leave the ladies politely locked outside Barbara Castle, on this subject, is absolutely right and should be supported 100 per cent. Even if Opposition, a variety of leading Tories claimed to support those amendments to her Equal Pay Bill which set out to remove discrimination from women in every sphere from Ministries of Religion to the Baltic Exchange. Now is the time to see this embodied in a small piece of simple legal draughtsmanship—if only so that the men of the City can refute the growing suspicion that they are actually afraid of the fairer sex.

Victory and loss for democracy

HENRY BRANDON

NOWHERE ELSE in the world could the Press have triumphed over government as did the American Press last week in what Judge Harlan called "one of the great cases" of history. Nowhere else does the Press enjoy the same powerful legal protection.

At stake was the question whether the New York Times and the Washington Post could proceed with the publication of a top-secret Pentagon history of the war in Vietnam. And although nobody denied that some confidentiality is essential, the Government lost its case because it could not prove that publication would cause "grave and irreparable" damage to national security.

The great issue at the heart of this case, though—whether and under what circumstances "prior restraint" can be imposed by the Government—remained purposefully unresolved, for such is the wisdom often inherent in constitutional law. It is particularly wise in this case, because it is unlikely to create a precedent that will repeat itself, and because both sides have some strong and some weak arguments. Nor did it confirm the belief of two justices, Black and Douglas, that freedom of the Press is absolute, for to decide all problems for all time is not good constitutional law.

President Nixon's legal judgment, although he used to be a high-priced lawyer, has proved to be poor, time and again and certainly in this case. His attempt to impose a "prior restraint" order on the newspapers was almost certain to fail. Even though five of the Supreme Court justices considered the publication of some of the secret papers as not in the national interest, two of them could not be persuaded that they would cause "irreparable" harm to national security. Not even after they were shown in camera what the Government considered the most embarrassing disclosures among the lot. And that was the key to the Government defeat. It also confirmed to a majority of justices the Government's tendency to abuse what in Britain would be called its privilege to classify documents. But now is the Government then to protect those secret documents that are worthy of classification?

None of the justices suggested the need for a law similar to Britain's Official Secrets Act. Three of the justices mentioned that the Government could ask Congress to pass a specific law authorising civil proceedings, but they seemed to have some doubts about this idea. Justice

White, however, went far by saying that in his view breaches of criminal law had occurred and that he would have no difficulty in sustaining convictions, even though he did not think the case justified "prior restraint." Essentially the justices felt that it was up to the Government to protect its own secrets, and that it was wrong for the courts to be used as censors.

Many expected the Supreme Court to return the case to the lower courts for further review, as Chief Justice Burger advocated to avoid taking a decision in an air of frenzy. But one reason why this did not happen was that Dr Ellsberg, the now self-confessed donor of the documents, was shrewd enough to widen their dissemination to a dozen other papers which "satisfied certain personal tastes" of his, so that a substantial part of the damage was obviously irretrievable.

The Attorney-General, Mr John Mitchell, has now threatened to pursue criminal prosecution. At the same time, in contrast, the Secretary of State, Mr William Rogers, has tried to cajole the newspapers into consulting the Government before publishing damaging documents. It is doubtful whether the Department of Justice could prove that the newspapers wilfully tried to injure the United States or acted to the advantage of any foreign nation—though one high official, joking sourly with Mr Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador, suggested that the American Press had saved his Government a lot of money.

If the depth of resentment between the Government and the Press in America had not reached bottom before the historic "leak" it has now. The newspapers involved, despite their victory in the Supreme Court, consider the Government's action "ominous"; and the highest officials use the same word when they talk about the Supreme Court's green light to the publication of the documents. The odds, however, remain against new restrictive legislation, even if Mr Nixon is re-elected, because the publication of the documents has helped to increase the mounting complaints in Congress that it is not given the facts by the executive and that its war-and-peace powers have been eroded.

Still, however historic the decision of the Supreme Court,

it creates much less of a precedent than the Government now fears. No Cabinet Minister is likely to order the preparation of anything like the Pentagon study again, nor will, as a consequence, such a welter of 7,000 secret documents fall again into a journalistic lap.

In fact, it would never have happened had America not sunk into a mood of self-flagellation and defeatism over the war in Vietnam. Ellsberg would not have been prepared to assume the role of martyr and newspapers would not have found the secret documents that newsworthy. Nor would historians have had the prospect of gaining from the new declassification procedures now being forced on the Government.

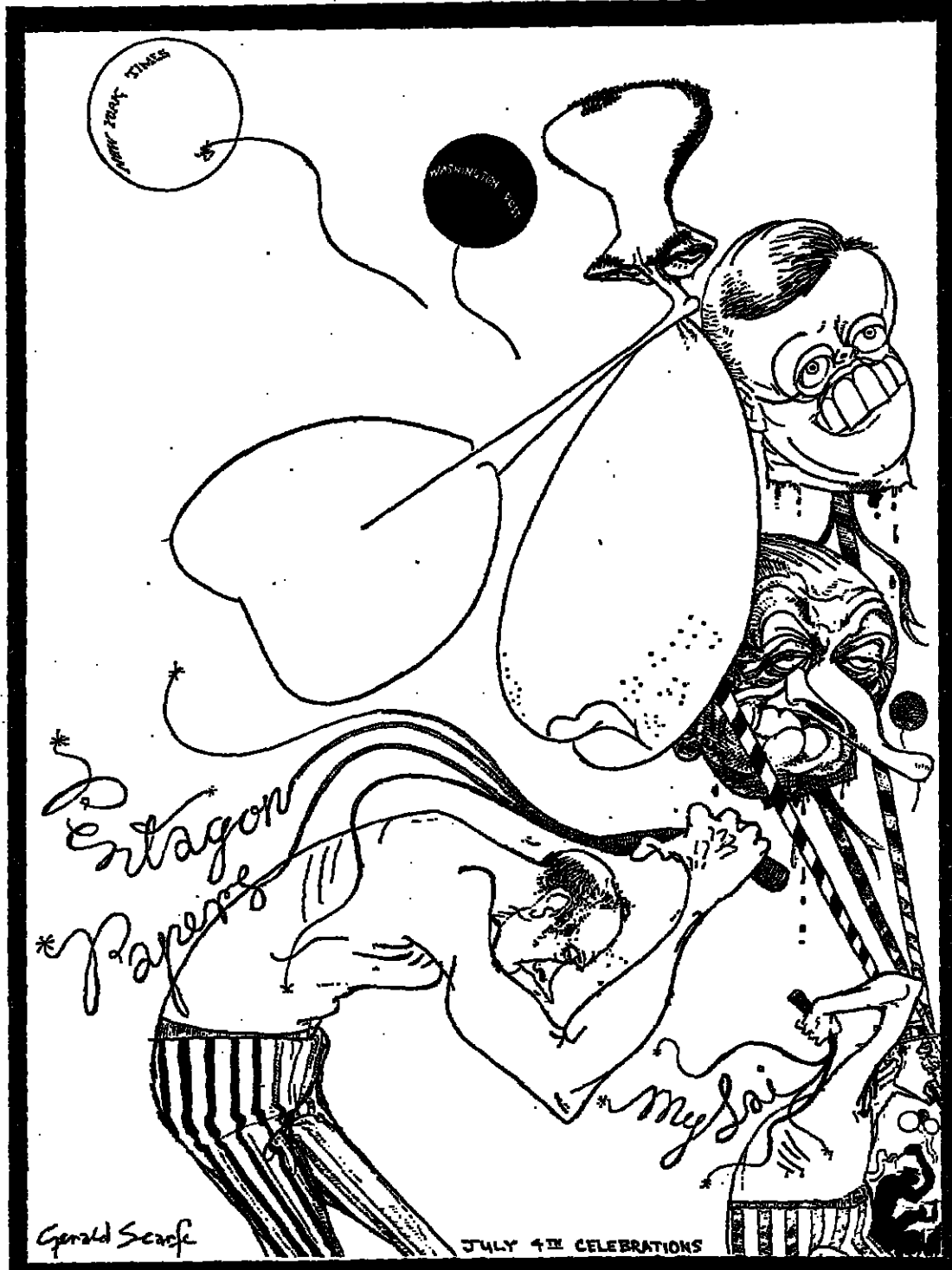
Whether the Congressional investigation of the origins of the war will do more good than harm remains to be seen. But its effect on Congress and the public is already evident in the latest voting on the resolutions attempting to set a date for withdrawal from Vietnam.

Dr Henry Kissinger, the President's adviser on national security, is now in Vietnam and his report may well determine whether and to what extent an acceleration of the American withdrawal is militarily advisable. The majority of Americans still prefer an honourable end to the war. They don't want an end at any price, as men like Dr Ellsberg do. Nor does the President.

But his ability to resist the growing pressures in Congress for a faster pace of withdrawal is being weakened and it is not surprising that Hanoi chose this moment to offer a new deal on prisoners of war, however much it may still be tied to unacceptable conditions. Even though America has not suffered defeat in Vietnam, the frustrations the war has engendered and the moral issues it has raised have given Americans a sense of defeat.

After Britain's humiliating defeat at Suez, Mr Harold Macmillan shrewdly succeeded in reconciling the bitter internal divisions by sweeping them under the national rug. He was praised for it and called a healer. Americans have a different, more Freudian way of explanation. They tend to believe, as Anthony Lewis put it trenchantly in the New York Times, that "Only by self-knowledge can we hope to purge ourselves of the resentment" caused by this sense of defeat.

America in its present mood is almost afraid of itself and the revelations in these secret documents have only accentuated this fear, which in turn undermines self-confidence.



Patrick Campbell on licensed promises

THE TAXI DRIVER, aged apparently 15, was listening to the punk-punk of Wimbledon on his transistor and was still passing Rod Laver repeatedly at the net when he raised unseeing eyes to my request.

"The LCC, or whatever it's called now. That great lump on the South Bank."

He switched off the radio, having found a game even more diverting. He said, "Nothing's called the LCC now, guv. That was all done away with years ago."

But the lump is still there and I want to go to it. "It wouldn't be the GLC you wanted, by any chance? That'll be Albert Bridge way."

He started the engine. "It's the GLC now, you see," he said, illuminating the whole thing. They drove away with the LCC years ago. We drove off, the youth well satisfied, and my temper beginning to give way. I wondered why it was that everyone in London, engaged upon the previously honourable trade of service, now goes out of their way to confuse, subvert and enrage those whom they are paid to serve.

We arrived at the lump and I got out and paid him. "Ta-ra, then," he said,

switched on Wimbledon again and drove away. Obviously, free listening wasn't on for the passengers.

I approached one of those mysteriously uniformed members of the LCC or the GLC or whatever the hell it is, and said, "Driving licence renewals."

He had been standing with folded arms, having taken up that position when coming on duty, and had no occasion to change it since. He did now, though. He waved one hand in the air, expunging me for ever. "Not 'ere guv."

After a long walk, getting hotter and hotter, and more and more battered by the thunderous roar of the traffic, I found Black Prince road and Driving Licence Renewals—stairs, with four positions closed and two open. The room was filled with every nation in the world, including two youthful Britons trying to decipher a document by moving a finger along the words.

I picked up a similar form. There were hundreds of them on a shelf, and as many more lying on the floor. Then I found I'd forgotten my glasses, and was seized by homicidal rage, so fiercely that even the block letters at the top of the form

blurred into a haze. They came back after a moment: NOTES ON APPLICATION FOR A LICENCE TO DRIVE A MOTOR VEHICLE.

There was certainly no need to read them, or any other notes on any other form whatever. I turned the page. It looked more promising, in that it seemed to have a number of holes destined to receive my answers. If, that was, I could read the questions. It was dark in Driving Licence Renewals. The first question looked like, "Heave locomotive, bright locomotive, molo tractor. . . . Group B, F, G, H, J, KORLY." The answer, curiously enough, seemed already to have been fitted in in Column Two. It read, "Twenty-one."

I began to panic a little. It was unlike any form I'd ever seen. But I wrote in brackets after "Twenty-one"—(Over). The next question, however, had already been answered, in type. I read, "17 but 21 if the molo ker is frutulated and the unaided wai—"

It was some time later when I found the right form, under the shelf, and was filling it in when a uniformed official said, "Too late for that—come back tomorrow."

Witch-doctors come to market
JOHN WHALE

THE THREE HEROES of King Solomon's Mines, in mortal danger for coming between a girl sacrificial victim and the spear of an African princeling called Scragga, save themselves and her by successfully forecasting that the moon will turn black. They happen to have with them an almanac showing lunar eclipses.

It is only among unsophisticated peoples, of course, that foretelling the future is a title to special respect. Consider, in Britain now, the very different case of the public-opinion pollster. He simply observes the present, he says; and if other people pay him particular attention because they believe he can read the future, more fools they.

For all that, the pollster suddenly finds himself thrust into the centre of the circle. The tribe is deliberating its most crucial step in 25 years: entry into Europe. The chiefs are satisfied that most of the signs are right. But there are other signs too; and the only witch-doctor thought able to read them is the pollster.

With the approved terms of entry due out in three or four days, ministers will be switching their persuasive eloquence from the Six to the British people. MPs, with whom the decision ultimately rests, will spend the summer looking doubtfully in the same direction. Their calculations will be largely based on opinion-poll findings.

What the polls are, in fact, saying about the Market now is something like this: "860 people out of a sample of 1,100, chosen on certain principles by our interviewers and asked by them last weekend whether or not they were in favour of Britain's joining the Common Market, said they were not." But a considerable leap of faith is needed to turn that statement into the kind of statement ordinarily derived from it: "three-fifths of the electorate is a gainst Britain's joining the Common Market." The shift in numbers is defensible, but the moment of declaration has slipped from the immediate present into the continuing present; and most important, a single answer has been understood as a general attitude.

Opinions change. On the Market, pollsters have seen a shift in public opinion over the years from anti to pro and back again to anti; and on wider political allegiance, did they not detect a turn-round at the end of last year's general election in only four days?

Most awkward of all is the way an opinion poll captures a view which may scarcely be there at all. To have an opinion requires an effort of mind. On most topics, most of us are not prepared to make it. We acknowledge this to ourselves, but not to other people. "For or against?" asks the inter-dependent is not.

viewer, surging up in it or on the doorstep; summon our scraps of information and formulate an opinion hardly own. In a trade, an opinion for no reflection and no would be put aside; less: but this is polit

REFERENDA have I forward as an alien people who see these and yet have a residu that a democracy ou some account of wh actually think. A ha now planned for constituencies in the

But the opinion would still be weakly, flow of argument, th to come to a decis not be nearly as pe it is during a gener. Front-benchers of parties would be willing to legitim referendum by step.

Philip Goodhart, servative MP who the most methodical tests in his consti Beckenham, has sh away the case agai. His recent book, R shows that the m the device has been crats—Napoleon, Gaulle—who cor received how conven to be able to ask the their own question own time; and the mand for it has losers.

Advocates claim been demanded on issue by the British highly revealing o conducted in April Research Centre this was in a sens majority did inde thought it would idea if the Govern the people to vote before it decided should go into it. Market. But a m said—when it was—that they wante procedure gone thr MPs' pay was ra food prices were before a wage fre posed. Consistent, cept that a simil then said they portant national should be taken b government rather people.

Findings like I only make sense position that not are strong ones, about opinion poll about referenda, whether MPs wou look for firm guida device. And this the old argument is a representative a delegate: it ar simple fact that a to study at least evidence before, and a poll or refe

the w

and disturbing. But there is something even more moving, and at the same time reassuring, in the passivity, even the eagerness, with which French audiences are accepting the vision of themselves which they see mirrored in it.

It contains many remarkable stories: perhaps the most touching is that of a farmer who was in the Resistance, and betrayed by a neighbour to the Gestapo. He survived the Gestapo's tortures, and returned to live peaceably beside the man who betrayed him. He would not let the Resistance take revenge on the man, because he did not want to be "like them."

Then there is the bizarre story of a very courageous homosexual British agent who fell in love with a German soldier and lived with him for five months, still scrupulously carrying out his dangerous duties. Then he asked to be recalled because he felt his double role was a betrayal to his lover. London obligingly arranged his transfer.

There is Christian de la Mazière, the French aristocrat

to Spare French lives.

On my last raid I was actually a Minister. It was November, 1943. De Gaulle had cabled me that I had been appointed Minister for Finance and that I should go to Algiers immediately. My commanding officer did not want me to fly that last mission, which was over the V1 and V2 sites in the Pas de Calais. He thought it would be very bad if a Minister was killed or captured. But I felt I had to go with my comrades and I went.

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You must understand that for two generations we have suffered a whole series of misfortunes which are not very flattering for the national morale. There was inflation.

You must understand that for two generations we have suffered a whole series of misfortunes which are not very flattering for the national morale. There was inflation.

Not many people seem to have listened to De Gaulle?

That is correct. After all not many Frenchmen listened to the BBC in 1940, and even

erased.

Motor Cars

Isn't it a

Being on the run for six months, cut off from most of your friends, you must have had some very bitter thoughts? At the beginning I wanted

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continued on page 10

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continued on page 10

Open has £47,500 for the deserving

laté Tony Lema did exactly this when he won at St Andrews in 1964 without ever having seen the course.

Though our Centenary Open was held in 1960, and won incidentally by Neil Macgregor, this is, in fact, the 100th to be held allowing for gaps in the war years. As in most tournaments of world class these days it is hardly an inspired forecast to suggest that the winner will be the man who beats Nicklaus, just as it was in the US Open and we may leave it at that.

I hope I do not live too much in the past, but early days always intrigue me and the sense of continuity comes from looking back along the road we have come. How fantastic, for instance, is the difference from the day in 1960 when eight professionals assembled at Prestwick to play three rounds of the 12-hole tournament starting at 11 am on a mid-October day and easily finishing by dusk for the championship belt, value £30, subscribed for by the members of Prestwick. Willie Park won it by two strokes from Tom Morris, 174 against 176, with Willie Steel, 179, bringing up the rear with 232.

Three years later in 1963 the honour of winning the belt was still the first prize, but the runner-up was rewarded with a silver, the third with three gold and the fourth with two. In the year after that, following a dire day, a few strong hints from the man who had only won the belt, the winner was awarded the belt and £6 as well.

Young Tom Morris won the belt three times running, thus making it his own property, but a little later at the age of 24, he died of a broken heart after the death of his wife in childbirth. The Morris family then presented the belt to the Royal and Ancient Club. I have often tried it on and can only say that, Open champions must have been almost diminutive characters in those days since I can hardly get it half-way round.

Followers of golf and the continuity of the Open may care to note the appearance of this week of a book by Geoffrey Cousins and Tom Scott, A Century of Opens (Muller £2.50). I like particularly their thought of the shades of the bearded and antiquated gentlemen who won the Open in the 1860s and

'seventies confronting the millionaire golfers of today as they accept their cheques and sign their contracts with "Good luck boys, but don't forget we started it."

ARNOLD PALMER times Royal Birkdale in a bird's eye guide and describes how to win the Open in a fascinating run down on Britain's big golf occasion in this week's Sunday Times Magazine.

Even so it is only comparatively recently that the Open, through the business acumen of the Royal and Ancient and the happy circumstance that the winner qualifies for a very lucrative four-man television tournament in America, has become really big business. One remembers Walter Hagen before the war handing the £50 first prize to his caddy, but even so in the year after the war the total prizemoney was only £1,000 and the winner, Sam Snead, already reputedly as wealthy as Croesus, became the richer by £150.

By the time of the Centenary Open in 1960 the fund had reached £7,000 and the winner touched for £1,250, but it was only in 1965 that the Open began to enter the bigger financial league with successive prize funds of £10,000, £15,000, £20,000, £30,000, £40,000 and this year £47,500. Money isn't everything, but it does somehow help.

What has undoubtedly improved from the bad days of not too long ago is the attention to the legitimate comforts of the spectators, golf being undoubtedly the most difficult game in which to deal with this problem, as people are not in a stadium or arena but constantly on the move. On that count I suppose there really is nothing for it but the rope or fence them off as at, say St Andrews or Lytham, though it is not wholly satisfactory for the shorter-legged citizens.

Writing from this side of the Atlantic it amuses me in a way sort of way to think that the television here offers the customers 14 hours on Saturday and two hours on the final day, whereas last year at St Andrews the BBC, on account of there

being no cricket through the South African tour being off, actually showed 22½ hours of the Open—and then people still wrote in to ask why we didn't show enough golf. For those interested the Open will be shown every day next week from Wednesday morning onwards to say nothing of the play-off, so help us, on Monday—and if so may it be the last forever.

A minor sensation was caused at the last minute by a story suggesting that Arnold Palmer might not come to the British Open and just before he started the third round he confirmed that he was indeed in doubt. He told me he was in good physical shape, having just had a medical check-up, but he said that he would not decide until tomorrow morning. The truth is that he is so stale and over-golfed that he can hardly, if I interpret his rather guarded words correctly, bear the sight or thought of the game any more at the moment—and indeed one can hardly wonder. Everyone will be sorry indeed if he misses Birkdale, where he has already scored one of his immensely popular victories, but whether or not we shall see him only the next 24 hours will show.

Hudson in pain has to quit

JOHN HUDSON, the playing professional from Hendon, who had the extraordinary performance of a double hole-in-one recently, retired after four holes in the second round of the 36 holes qualifying competition for the Open Golf Championship at Hillaide, Southport, yesterday.

Hudson, who had a first round of 82 which left him with little hope of qualifying among the 28 players from this course for the 72 holes championship proper which begins at Royal Birkdale on Wednesday, had such pains in his stomach that he had to wait before playing each stroke.

In fairness to his partners he decided to walk in. "I am now going to see a doctor," Hudson said.

Torrington came out to be defeated for 30 minutes at Hesketh and when the storm passed it became hot and humid. Five new holes had to be cut.

Snape, a 29-year-old from Auckland, New Zealand, a professional for only seven months, was the first player to break 70 at Southport.

His 69 gave him an aggregate of 141. Snape, who leaves for New Zealand after the Open to get married, had four birdies in the last nine holes of 32.

Guy Hunt, the diminutive 24-year-old playing professional at Westworld, broke the Southport and

Atsdales course record by one stroke with a 66 for an aggregate of 138. This enabled him to share the lead with David Ridley, who had a 67.

Hunt played magnificent golf after three putting on the first green. He had eight birdies which included five in succession from the eighth in his halves of 34 and 32. It was his lowest round of the season and he had 10 single putts. Ridley was never over par and had five birdies in his effort. Ian Richardson went in front at Hillaide with a 73 for 141.

Norman Wood, a 24-year-old Scot from Turnberry, shattered the course record at Hesketh by two strokes with a six under par 63. This gave him an aggregate of 135 and a certain place among the 27 qualifiers. Wood had seven birdies in his halves of 32 and 33. He holed six putts ranging from one foot to 25 feet. His only mistake on the green was three putting at the ninth, a heavy bunker hit the course. His card read: Out: 3 3 4 2 4 4 5—32; In: 3 3 3 4 4 3 5 4—33.

The son of the late Walter Hagen will make a presentation of one of his father's medals to the Royal and Ancient Golf Club for their archives at Royal Birkdale on Thursday.

Hagen won the Open four times, died two years ago.

Iskareen wins on Clyde



by Hugh Somerville

A course record for the Island Sailing Club's round-the-island race in 1948 which stood for over 10 years, was broken by a team of three, with whom I sailed very many years in subsequent years, was a noted golfer, who holed out in one nine times before he gave up the game at the age of 24.

The round the island race was held yesterday with an incredible armada of nearly 500 boats taking part. This annual event, which was started by the late Major Cyril Windeler, gets more and more popular each year. It certainly gave a break to the boats which did not qualify for the Admiral's Cup, whose crews have worked so hard to no avail.

Chances for top apprentice

● **TONY IVES**, this season's leading apprentice and the only one to have sailed in the 1970 America's Cup, is said to have been based in 12-metre Intrepid, while Iskareen is fairly similar 12-metre Vm. It is to be said he can be entered over Clyde next season.

● The 1974 America's Cup, which is being held in San Francisco, has a 12-metre Vm. It is to be said he can be entered over Clyde next season.

● A good metre boat racing in Britain. The problem is exactly the same in a 12, but an eight about for the crew.

● The Solent. It is per-incidentally that Iskareen, owned by Ronnie Burton, set

Round-the-island also attracts a large number of entries whose owners race once a year, so that their knowledge of the rules tends to be rudimentary.

Obviously the boats in the Admiral's Cup team—the Prime Minister's Morning Cloud, Tom Watson's Cervantes and Arthur Slater's Prospect—were out to prove themselves but one cannot help wondering how these comparatively small boats will compare in the Admiral's Cup contest itself with those of the American and Australian teams, which are about 10ft longer overall.

The US Southern Ocean Racing Circuit, in which I sailed in February and March, was dominated by the bigger boats. Indeed, 40 of them would have fitted into RORC Class 1 rating over 20ft.

Maybe the RORC have taken a gamble on the weather being lightish for the Channel and English coast, but the two short races of about 30 miles which will be held during Cowes Week.

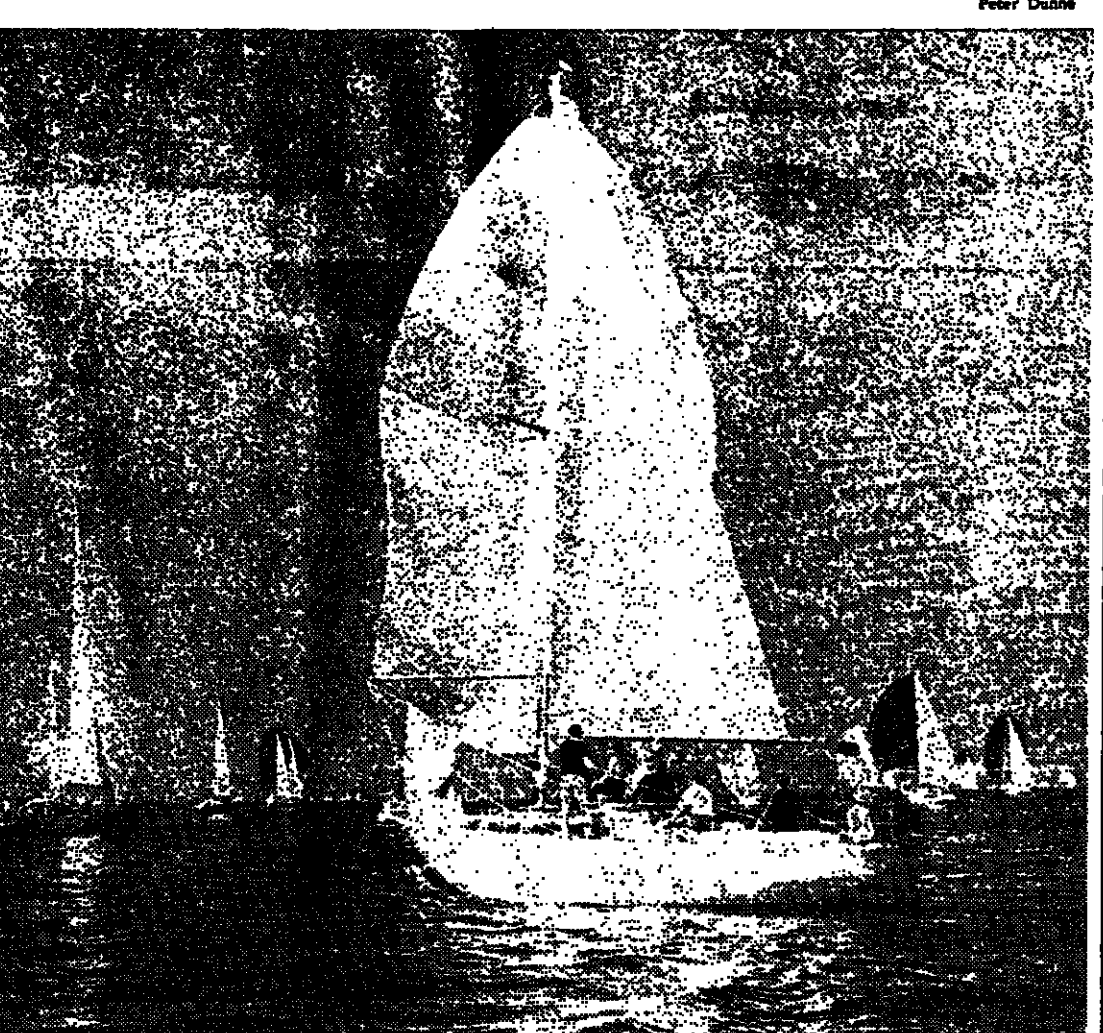
Fowler makes his comeback

● **AFTER** a year out of action following an Achilles tendon operation, former European champion Roy Fowler makes a comeback on Saturday in the Michelin 16-mile road race in Stoke.

Fowler, a 37-year-old distance runner from Leek, heads a field of 38, which includes Scottish international Alan Richards (Tipton), John Cavers (York) and Larry Austin (Stoke).

Blick for Corby

● **BLACK**, 22-year-old Swinton centrist and sprinter, is back in the Southern League.



Spinnakers billow as the Gold Cup yachts jockey for position in the Round the Island Races

England in tough fight

IT WAS cut and thrust between England and France in the final of the European women's team golf championship at Ganton, Scarborough, yesterday. They shared the fourstrokes as did Ireland and Wales in the second flight. Scotland also had Italy to a draw in the fourstrokes.

Michelle Walker and Ann Irvin were helped in their match by the indifference of form of Brigitte Varangot, three times British champion. Miss Varangot played like a 24 handicapper at times, and she was repeatedly saved by her partner, Odile Garandine.

After taking the lead at the second, where Miss Walker holed a 30-foot downhill putt, England lost the next without even finding the fairway.

They went hunkered, bunker, rough and bunker before conceding the hole. Two bad strokes by Miss Varangot cost the French the 49th and 50th holes.

Miss Walker and Miss Irvin lost their accuracy after the turn. Their lead was cut to one at the 10th after bunker trouble and they dropped behind when they lost the 12th and 14th. The French then putted to lose the 17th but England went down at the 20th, where Miss Irvin missed from 2ft.

In a second match, Mary Evers and Sally Barber lost the first three holes to par against Christine Labesse and Ann-Marie Pail. The golf was a lower standard than in the other match, but England won the 6th, 8th and 9th and had the advantage at the turn. Miss Evers and Ms Barber won four of the five holes after the turn for a 5 and 4 victory.

England v France fourstrokes: Miss M. Garandine and A. P. Varangot at 20th, Miss O. Evers and Mrs S. Barber beat Miss O. Evers and Mrs S. Barber at 20th, England 1, France 1.

● **ART WALL**, a leading American player more than a decade ago but without a major victory in the last five years, had a five-under-par 67 in Montreal for a second-round lead in the \$22,000 Canadian Open.

The 47-year-old Wall, Player of the Year in 1959 after his victory in the Masters, returned the day's best round over the windproof, 6,800-yard Richelieu Valley course, 115 56-hole total of 137 leads by one stroke.

● **SANDY SINCLAIR**, triumphant chief selector of the victorious British Walker Cup team, marked the 21st anniversary of his 1930 success in the Newlands Trophy at Langford Park by returning a par-equaling 70.

The half-way leader was Bob Gibson, aged 36 (anark), a former boy international, who brought in a 68. Sandy Nicholson, chairman, was 51 shots worse. His total of 119 included 36 penalty shots as a result of having 16 clubs in his bag.

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